STUDIES IN THE RENAISSANCE

VOLUME VIII

ALMA COLLEGE
LIBRARY
Los Gatos, Calif.

PUBLICATIONS OF
THE RENAISSANCE SOCIETY OF AMERICA
NEW YORK · MCMLXI

56062

v. 8
1961

EDITORIAL BOARD

JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT
CURT F. BÜHLER
WILLIAM G. CONSTABLE
FELIX GILBERT
EDWIN B. KNOWLES
PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER
RENSSELAER W. LEE
JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR.
GUSTAVE REESE
HELEN E. SANDISON

M. A. SHAABER, *Editor*

PRINTED BY THE STINEHOUR PRESS · LUNENBURG · VERMONT

FOREWORD

THE society is indebted to the following members who, in addition to the Editorial Board, have read some of the material submitted for publication: B. B. Ashcom, Gerald E. Bentley, Thomas G. Bergin, Wallace K. Ferguson, Northrop Frye, Neal W. Gilbert, Marcus S. Goldman, Otis H. Green, Rudolf Hirsch, James Hutton, W. T. H. Jackson, George B. Parks, Wilhelm Pauck, Linton C. Stevens.

A ninth volume of *Studies in the Renaissance* may be expected early in 1962. Members who wish to submit papers for the consideration of the Editorial Board are invited to do so without delay. The board expects manuscripts submitted to follow the prescriptions of the *MLA Style Sheet*. Statements regarding the editorial policy of the board will be found in the foreword to volume IV (1957) and in the minutes of the annual meetings of the Council.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/renaissance-quarterly_1961_8

CONTENTS

Some Renaissance Versions of the Pythagorean Tetrad 7
S. K. HENINGER, JR.

Petrarch's *Accidia* 36
SIEGFRIED WENZEL

The Humanist as Scholar and Politian's Conception of the *Grammaticus* 49
ALDO SCAGLIONE

Humanistic Jurisprudence 71
GUIDO KISCH

The Education of a Prince: Lodovico il Moro and the Rise of Pandolfo Petrucci 88
DAVID L. HICKS

Erasmus and France: the Propaganda for Peace 103
JAMES HUTTON

The 'Liberey' of Duke Ernst of Bavaria (1500–1560) 128
FELIX F. STRAUSS

The Paradox of Money Imagery in English Renaissance Poetry 144
IRVING D. BLUM

Ramist Method and the Commercial Mind 155
WALTER J. ONG, S.J.

The Thought of Louis Le Roy according to his Early Pamphlets 173
BODO L. O. RICHTER

The First Italianate Englishmen 197
GEORGE B. PARKS

Rowland Whyte, Elizabethan Letter-Writer 217
LISLE C. JOHN

Music and *The Mad Lover* 236
JOHN P. CUTTS

Sacred 'Parody' of Love Poetry, and Herbert 249
ROSEMOND TUVE

'I was but an inverted tree':
Notes toward the History of an Idea 291
A. B. CHAMBERS

ILLUSTRATIONS

The elements as regular solids (Kepler, *Harmonice mundi*, 1619) *page* 12
Tetrad of qualities 13
Tetrad of elements and qualities 15
Tetrad (Peyligk, *Philosophiae naturalis compendium*) 16
The number four as a solid 17
Theological tetrad 19
Christ and the four elements (Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, 1482) 20
The four elements (Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum*, 1472) 21
The natural sciences (Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum*, 1472) 22
The alchemical hermaphrodite (Thurneysser, *Quinta essentia*, 1574) 23
Wind-rose (Apianus, *Cosmographicus liber*, 1524) 24
Wind-rose (Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 1519) 25
The signs of the zodiac (*Kalendar of Shepherds*, 1503) 26
Philosophers' stone (Ashmole, *Theatrum chemicum Britannicum*, 1652) 27
Title page of Celtis, *Quatuor libri amorum* (1502) 29
Lady Philosophy in tetrads (Celtis, *Quatuor libri amorum*, 1502) 30
Moguncia Metropolis (Celtis, *Quatuor libri amorum*, 1502) 31

Some Renaissance Versions of the Pythagorean Tetrad[1]

IN 1538 when Sir Thomas Elyot printed his *Dictionary*, he included the following entry for Pythagoras: 'An excellente Phylosopher, whose Phylosophye was in mystycalle sentences, and alsoo in the Scyence of noumbers.' The 'mystycalle sentences' were the *Carmina aurea* and *Symbola*, collections of spurious precepts with hidden meanings which had received extensive explication; and 'the Scyence of noumbers' recalled Pythagoras' fundamental postulate that all things have innate numerical relationships. Elyot's entry indicates concisely what facets of the Pythagorean doctrine appealed to the Renaissance and how Pythagoras could appear as the fountainhead of both mysticism and physical science. Reuchlin cited Pythagoras as source of the mystical wisdom contained in *De arte cabalistica*,[2] while Copernicus in *De revolutionibus orbium cœlestium* claimed support from the ancient Pythagoreans for his belief that the earth moved.[3] In the next century Galileo expounded a Pythagorean cosmology refined by Copernicus,[4] while Henry More used Pythagoras to devise the *Conjec-*

[1] Read at the Southeastern Renaissance Conference at the University of North Carolina 26 April 1958.

[2] (Haguenau, 1517), epistle dedicatory to Pope Leo X.

[3] (Nuremberg, 1543), prefatory letter to Pope Paul III. For Copernicus' debt to Pythagoreanism, see E. A. Burtt, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science* (London, 1927), pp. 40–44; and Angus Armitage, *Copernicus* (London, 1938), pp. 20–25.

[4] See the author's preface to *Dialogo . . . sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo* (Florence, 1632). In January 1611 Tommaso Campanella wrote an enthusiastic letter to Galileo extolling the *Sidereus nuncius*: 'Tu, vir clarissime, non modo restituis nobis gloriam pythagoreorum a græcis subdolis subreptam, eorum dogmata resuscitando, sed totius mundi gloriam tuo splendore exstinguis' (Campanella, *Lettere*, ed. Vincenzo Spampanato, Bari, 1927, p. 165). See also Campanella, *The Defense of Galileo*, tr. Grant McColley (Northampton, Mass., 1937), p. 11: 'Galileo's theory of the motion of the earth, of a central Sun, and of the systems of stars with waters and earthly elements is indeed an ancient conception. It comes from the mouth of Moses himself, and from Pythagoras.' Cf. pp. 11–12, 72–73. Galileo, however, explicitly rejected the number symbolism of the Pythagoreans.

tura cabbalistica,[5] a mystico-moral interpretation of Genesis. Pythagoras was easily adapted to any one's philosophy, especially at a time when mysticism and science had not become dissociated. The harmonious world-view of Pythagoras was hugely satisfying, and the precise body of beliefs attributed to him was highly meaningful in the Renaissance even if not today. For that reason Ralph Cudworth pronounced categorically: '*Pythagoras* was the most eminent of all the ancient Philosophers.'[6]

In the annals of philosophy, Pythagoras himself is an exceedingly tenuous figure. Neither he nor his immediate disciples left any writings because the master insisted upon oral transmission of his teachings and swore the initiated few to the utmost secrecy. Plato, obsessed as he was with Pythagorean doctrine, recorded no direct information about the founder of the school; and Aristotle, though he examined Pythagorean tenets in considerable detail, never spoke about Pythagoras, but always in a general way about the Pythagoreans. By late classical times, however, the fame of this enigmatic figure demanded scholarly investigation, and a sizable corpus of neo-Pythagorean literature developed. Most of this the Renaissance inherited and avidly enhanced.[7] There were two biographies of Pythagoras in the spirit of hagiography: a largely legendary *Vita* by Porphyry in the third century and a much better known account by Iamblichus, a student of Porphyry. There were the *Carmina aurea* and the *Symbola*, two lists of aphorisms purportedly prescribed by Pythagoras for his disciples, and a copious commentary on the *Carmina aurea* by Hierocles in the fifth century. There were several apocryphal letters. Pythagorean arithmetic had been set forth by Nicomachus of Gerasa,[8] Pythagorean musicology had been

[5] (London, 1653), fol. B1: 'What is *Plato* but *Moses Atticus*? And for *Pythagoras* it is a thing incredible that he and his followers should make such a deal of doe with the mystery of Numbers, had he not been favoured with a sight of *Moses* his Creation of the world in six days, and had the Philosophick *Cabbala* thereof [not been] communicated to him, which mainly consists in Numbers.'

[6] *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (London, 1678), p. 370.

[7] Note at the end of this article the *editiones principes* of the major Pythagorean publications between 1474 and 1695. This rather lengthy list by no means exhausts Pythagorean literature in this period. For a critical survey of all Pythagorean writings in the classical period, see Eduard Zeller, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, tr. S. F. Alleyne (London, 1881), I, 306–323.

[8] Nicomachus' *Arithmeticæ libri duo*, translated by both Apuleius (no longer extant) and Boethius, was the most influential arithmetical text in the middle ages. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text was printed in Paris, 1538. Boethius' version first appeared in *Opera*

elaborated by Nicomachus[9] and Boethius,[10] Pythagorean cosmology had been delineated by Timaeus Locrus[11] and Ocellus Lucanus,[12] while Pythagorean ethics had been poignantly illustrated by Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii Tyanei*.[13] In addition to these neo-Pythagorean writings and in addition to Plato's *Timaeus* and Aristotle's *De cælo* and *Metaphysica*,[14] there was full coverage of Pythagoras in Diogenes Laertius' *Vitæ* (VIII. 1–50), and there were frequent references to Pythagoreanism in several standard classical texts: Plutarch's *Opuscula moralia*,[15] Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,[16] and Lucian's *Dialogues*.[17] This large and varied body of literature was completely assimilated into the mainstream of Renaissance thought.

Interest in Pythagoras was first ancillary to the rise of Neoplatonism in the Florentine Academy, and a brief consideration of his tradition shows why. In the sixth century B.C., after reaching manhood in his native Samos, Pythagoras undertook a quest for knowledge, which, according to ancient sources, gave him firsthand experience among the Phœnicians, the Chaldeans, the Persian magi, the Hindus, the Arabians, the Jews, the Thracians, the Druids of Gaul, and especially the Egyp-

---

(Venice, 1491–1492). There is a modern translation into English with invaluable notes by Martin Luther D'Ooge (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1938).

[9] Nicomachus' *Manuale harmonicum* was first printed in *Aristoxenus, Nicomachus, Alypius, auctores musices antiquissimi*, ed. Jan van Meurs (Leyden, 1616).

[10] Boethius' *De musica libri quinque*, a redaction of Nicomachus' musical work, was first printed in *Opera* (Venice, 1491–1492).

[11] The *De anima mundi et natura libellus* of Timaeus Locrus was first printed with Nicephorus Blemmidas, *Logica* et al. (Venice, 1498). Although modern scholars know this work to be a spurious paraphrase of Plato's *Timaeus*, the Renaissance did not doubt its authenticity.

[12] The text attributed to Ocellus Lucanus is probably not authentic but was accepted in the Renaissance. It was first printed as *De universi natura brevis et absoluta qualitatum elementarium enarratio* (Paris, 1539).

[13] The *editio princeps* was an Aldine publication (Venice, 1501).

[14] The most notable passages in which Aristotle discusses Pythagorean doctrine are *De cælo* 290 b 12–291 a 28, 293 a 15–293 b 21, and *Metaphysica* 985 b 23–990 a 32, 1080 a 37–1080 b 21, 1083 b 8–1085 a 2, 1090 a 16–1090 a 35, 1091 a 13–1091 b 15. See also *De anima* 404 a 16–404 a 20, 407 b 20–407 b 23.

[15] Especially the spurious *De placitis philosophorum*.

[16] The first half of Book XV is devoted to a favorable exposition of Pythagoreanism.

[17] Pythagoras figures most prominently in ΟΝΕΙΡΟΣ Η ΑΛΕΚΤΡΥΩΝ (a dialogue in which one speaker is a cock, the present incarnation of Pythagoras), in ΒΙΩΝ ΠΡΑΣΙΣ (a satire in which several philosophies of life are offered for sale), and in ΑΝΑΒΙΟΥΝΤΕΣ Η ΑΛΙΕΥΣ (an answer to the protest over ΒΙΩΝ ΠΡΑΣΙΣ in which the ancient philosophers return to avenge the calumny).

tians.[18] Rather late in life, after syncretizing the wisdom of all these disparate cultures, Pythagoras settled at Crotona in Magna Græcia, where he founded a secret brotherhood which held out to its members the hope of divine perfection.[19] Each brother was dedicated to the release of his soul from its encumbering body, a purification to be effected through contemplation of the universal order revealed in nature. To achieve this purpose, Pythagoras offered instruction which began with mathematics, then progressed to a study of nature and an investigation of primary principles, and finally promised knowledge of God. Despite the concomitant mysticism, the master and his immediate followers made extraordinary scientific discoveries. Pythagoras was the acknowledged father of pure arithmetic and geometry,[20] of numerology,[21] of internal medicine,[22] of acoustics and musicology,[23] and of literary emblems.[24]

[18] For sources relating to these legendary travels, see William Enfield, *The History of Philosophy* (London, 1837), pp. 212–214, and Zeller, *History of Greek Philosophy*, I, 327–335. Although Enfield and Zeller rightly submit these authorities to question, the Renaissance did not. See, for example, Alexander ab Alexandro, *Genialium dierum libri sex* (Paris, 1570), fol. 49^{v}–50.

[19] Full accounts of this 'school' are in Diogenes Laertius and Iamblichus; see also Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, I.ix.1–12, and Walter Burley, *Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum*, ed. Hermann Knust (Tübingen, 1886), pp. 70–72. Burley's imitation of Diogenes Laertius was first printed at Cologne in 1467, and was exceedingly popular in the late fifteenth century (at least twenty incunables). For a modern reconstruction of the beliefs promulgated in Pythagoras' school, see Enfield, *History of Philosophy*, pp. 217–230, and F. M. Cornford, 'Mysticism and Science in the Pythagorean Tradition', *Classical Quarterly* XVI (1922), 139 ff.

[20] 'Isidorus vero .III. ethimologiarum dicit: Numeri disciplinam apud grecos primum Pythagoram nuncupant perscripsisse' (Burley, *De vita*, p. 68). The reference to Isidore is *Etymologiæ*, III.ii.1. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, *Vitæ*, VIII, 11–12, and *Batman uppon Bartholome, His Book De Proprietatibus Rerum* (London, 1582), fol. ¶5. For modern opinions, see Zeller, *Greek Philosophy*, I, 347; Nicomachus, *Arithmetic*, ed. D'Ooge, pp. 18–19; and George Sarton, *A History of Science: Ancient Science through the Golden Age of Greece* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1952), pp. 203 ff.

[21] See Iamblichus, *Vita*, chap. 19. See also Zeller, *Greek Philosophy*, I, 419–425; John Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy* (4th ed., London, 1945), pp. 107–108; and Tobias Dantzig, *Number: the Language of Science* (N. Y., 1930), pp. 40–45.

[22] Pythagoras' claim to medical knowledge rests mainly upon his disciples, Alcmaeon and Empedocles: see Enfield, *History of Philosophy*, pp. 232–233; John Burnet, *Greek Philosophy: Part I, Thales to Plato* (London, 1928), pp. 41, 49–51; and Sarton, *History of Science*, pp. 214–215. Hartmann Schedel, after lauding Pythagoras' pioneering in cosmology, music, and mathematics, added: 'et medicinam non neglexit' (*Liber chronicarum*, Nuremberg, 1493, fol. 61^{v}).

[23] Pythagoras discovered the numerical ratios which determine the concordant intervals of the musical scale; ergo, 'Hic Pytagoras, ut ait Boecius in primo musice, artis musice inventor fuisse apud grecos dicitur' (Burley, *De vita*, p. 68). The reference to Boethius is *De musica*, I, x. André Dacier gives an open-minded review of scholarship on

He posited a spherical earth in a circular orbit,[25] an infinite universe,[26] a deistic monotheism,[27] and an immortal soul subjected to reward and punishment.[28] For such a man, a golden thigh was a minor accomplishment.

Pythagoras' invention of 'harmonical Measures' (*The Life of Pythagoras*, etc., tr. Nicholas Rowe, London, 1707, pp. 82–83). See also Burnet, *Thales to Plato*, pp. 45–49.

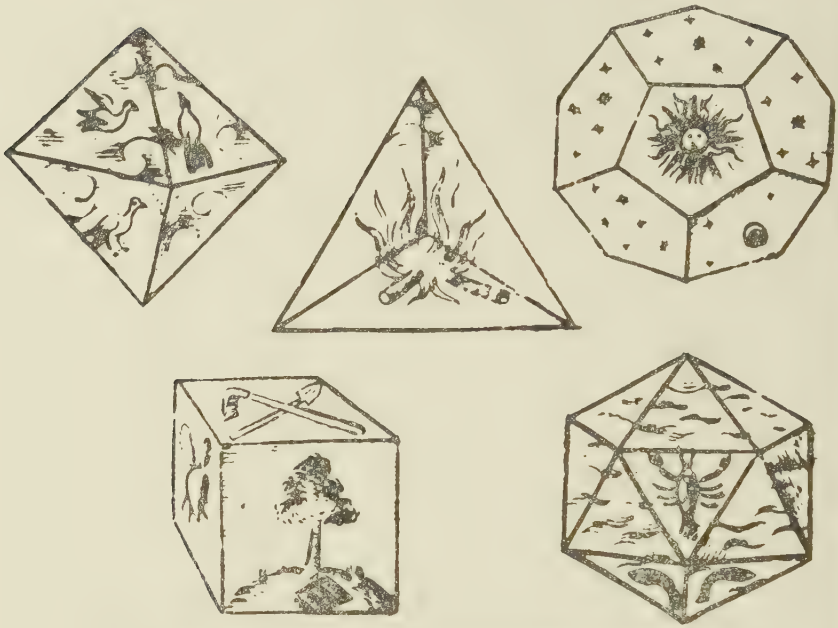
[24] Pythagoras delivered his moral teachings in the form of dicta with recondite meanings, hence the *Symbola*. This practice derived from his extended visit among the priests of Egypt. These *Symbola*, reinforced with literary esoterica such as the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo and the mystic symbols of the Kabalists, were assimilated by Neoplatonists of the Florentine Academy and eventually gave rise to the prolific emblem literature of the sixteenth century. See Plutarch, *Of Isis and Osiris* in *Moralia*, tr. Philemon Holland (2d ed., London, 1657), p. 1051; Vincenzo Cartari, *Les Images des dieux des anciens*, tr. Antoine du Verdier (Lyons, 1581), p. 4; Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *Libelli duo . . . in altero Pythagoræ symbola . . . sunt explicata* (Basle, 1551), pp. 71–85 (prefatory letter to Pico della Mirandola); G. P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* (Basle, 1556), title page; and Pierre Bayle, *Dictionaire historique et critique* (Rotterdam, 1697), 'Pythagoras', footnote H. Claude Mignault (better known as Minos) wrote a 'Syntagma de symbolis' which after 1573 became a frequent addition to Alciati's *Emblemata*. The 'Syntagma' offered a history of symbols from their invention through the Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Hebrews, to Pythagoras and beyond. This is the best summary of Pythagoras' contribution to the emblem tradition.

[25] See Diogenes Laertius, *Vitæ*, VIII, 48. 'It is well known that the *Pythagoreans* held the Motion of the Earth about the Sun' (Henry More, *Conjectura cabbalistica*, p. 154). Although this interpretation of Pythagorean cosmology is not strictly true, Copernicus and others attributed a heliocentric universe to Pythagoras. For other discoveries made by Pythagoras in astronomy, see J. L. E. Dreyer, *A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler* (2d ed., N. Y., 1953), pp. 37–38. For modern evaluation of Pythagoras' contributions to astronomy, see Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, pp. 110–111; Theodor Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, tr. Laurie Magnus (N. Y., 1908), I, 110 ff.; Sarton, *History of Science*, pp. 212–213. Pierre Duhem began his monumental *Le Système du monde* with 'L'Astronomie pythagoricienne' (Paris, 1913).

[26] See Aristotle, *Physica* 202 b 36–203 a 16, 204 a 8–204 a 34, 213 b 22–213 b 27; and Plutarch, *Opinions of Philosophers* in *Moralia*, pp. 671, 672 [II, ix, xiii]. Thomas Digges' famous diagram of an infinite heliocentric universe is drawn 'according to the most auncient doctrine of the Pythagoreans' (in *A Perfit Description of the Cælestiall Orbes*, London, 1576, reprinted in Alexandre Koyré, *From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe*, Baltimore, 1957, p. 37). See also Zeller, *History of Greek Philosophy*, I, 466–468; and Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 108.

[27] Cudworth quoted St. Cyril: '*Pythagoras* held there was One God of the whole Universe, the Principle and Cause of all things, the Illuminator, Animator and Quickener of the Whole, and Original of Motion; from whom all things were derived, and brought out of Nonentity into Being' (*Intellectual System*, p. 377). The reference to St. Cyril is *Contra Julianum* (Leipzig, 1696), p. 30 [Liber I]. See also Cicero, *De natura deorum*, I, xi; Iamblichus, *Vita*, chap. 30; Bayle, *Dictionaire*, 'Pythagoras', footnote N; and Enfield, *History of Philosophy*, pp. 227–228.

[28] 'Pytagoras primus apud grecos invenit immortales esse animas, sed erravit ponendo eas de corpore ad corpora transire' (Burley, *De vita*, p. 78). Cf. Plutarch, *Opin. of Phil.*, p. 683 [IV, vii]; Natalis Comes, *Mythologiæ* (Padua, 1616), pp. 147 [III, xx], 537–538 [X 'De Lethe fluvio']; and Zeller, *Greek Philosophy*, I, 481–487.



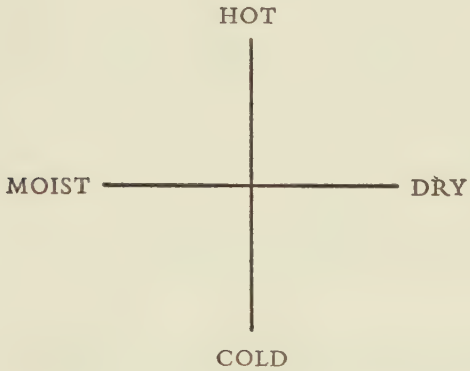
1. The elements as regular solids (Kepler, *Harmonice mundi*, 1619)

In the Renaissance, Pythagoras was perhaps best known for his theory about the transmigration of souls—the 'Pythagorean metempsychosis' that Faustus, according to Marlowe, so pitifully envied at the end of his hedonistic career. But much more fundamental to the Renaissance world-view was the discovery attributed to Pythagoras of the mathematical relationships in musical harmony and the application of these harmonic ratios to the physical universe. In Plutarch's words, as translated by Philemon Holland, Pythagoras 'held that the principle of all things were Numbers, and their symmetries, that is to say the proportions that they have in their correspondency one unto another . . . are tearmed by him Geometricall'.[29] For the Pythagoreans, God was the arch-geometer,[30] and He had fashioned each of the four elements so that its inherent shape was one of the four regular solids: fire was a pyramid, earth a cube, air an octahedron, and water an icosahedron. God had used the dodecahedron, the fifth regular solid, as a model for the universe in its entirety. This lore had been accepted by Plato in the *Timaeus* (55D–56C), and the geometrical designation of the elements was seri-

[29] *Opin. of Phil.*, p. 660 [I, iii]. Cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysica* 985 b 23–986 a 21.
[30] See Plutarch, *The Symposiaques* in *Moralia*, pp. 628–630 [VIII, 2].

ously discussed even so late as Johann Kepler, from whose *Harmonice mundi* figure 1 is taken.[31] Because of this cosmological geometry, Pythagoras was acknowledged as the first philosopher.[32] In fact, he invented the name 'philosopher' to replace the presumptuous σοφός or *sapiens*.[33]

More important, Pythagoras was credited with originating the term 'cosmos'.[34] And as might be expected, this cosmos is represented in a geometrical design, a tetrad (fig. 2). Arranged in a square were the four basic qualities, the contraries opposite one another: hot opposite cold, and dry opposite moist. The four elements, partaking of these four



2. Tetrad of qualities

[31] (Linz, 1619); figure 1 is inserted after fol. *4. On the elemental solids, see Plutarch, *Opin. of Phil.*, p. 671 [II, vi], and *Platonique Questions* in *Moralia*, p. 836 [no. 4]; Peter Crinitus, *De honesta disciplina* (Basle, 1532), p. 206 [XIII, x]; Dacier, *Life of Pythagoras*, pp. 72–73; Zeller, *History of Greek Philosophy*, I, 436–438; and Eva Sachs, *Die fünf platonischen Körper* (Berlin, 1917). The symbolism of the dodecahedron has been recently employed by Salvador Dali in his 'Sacrament of the Last Supper' (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.).

[32] Thales was probably a generation older than Pythagoras, but he inaugurated no continuing tradition. The seven wise men of Greece, of course, also antedated Pythagoras; but he superseded them by choosing the appellation 'philosopher' in place of σοφός.

[33] This is probably the most widespread story about Pythagoras. The *locus classicus* is Cicero, *Disputationes Tusculanæ*, V, 3–4. Cf. Iamblichus, *Vita*, chap. 12; Isidore, *Etymologiæ*, VIII.vi.2; and Hermannus Torrentinus, *Dictionarium poeticum* (Paris, 1550), 'Pythagoras'.

[34] See Diogenes Laertius, *Vitæ*, VIII, 48; Plutarch, *Opin. of Phil.*, p. 670 [II, i]; Photius, *Myriobiblon* (Geneva, 1611), col. 1318; and Thomas Stanley, *The History of Philosophy* (London, 1656), p. 14.

qualities, then also formed a tetrad (fig. 3). Using the terminology of Empedocles, a follower of Pythagoras, we can see that Hate operating between the opposites would produce an outward thrust tending to disrupt the cosmos. But Love between the elements that share a common quality—for instance, air and fire share the quality 'hot'—would form a tension around the circumference of the circle. As Pierre de la Primaudaye explained in his *Third Volume of the French Academie*:

> The elements are agreeable one to another, with their coupled qualities. . . . So that the fower elements are (as if each one of them had two hands, by which they held one another) as in a round daunce:[35] or else, as if they were conjoined and linked togither, as with chains and buckles.[36]

The system is stable because it is harmonious, because it incorporates extremes. In this configuration, there is a perfect balance of tensions, a reconciliation of opposites, an orderly arrangement of a unified whole. In the words of Nicomachus:

> Harmony always arises from opposites; for harmony is the unification of the diverse and the reconciliation of the contrary-minded.[37]

According to Hierocles, as translated by John Hall, this was Pythagoras' greatest achievement: 'the knowledge of the Creative *Tetrad*'.[38]

[35] This was the notion of the cosmic dance; cf. Guillaume Saluste du Bartas, *Devine Weekes and Workes*, tr. Joshua Sylvester (3d ed., London, 1611), p. 33:

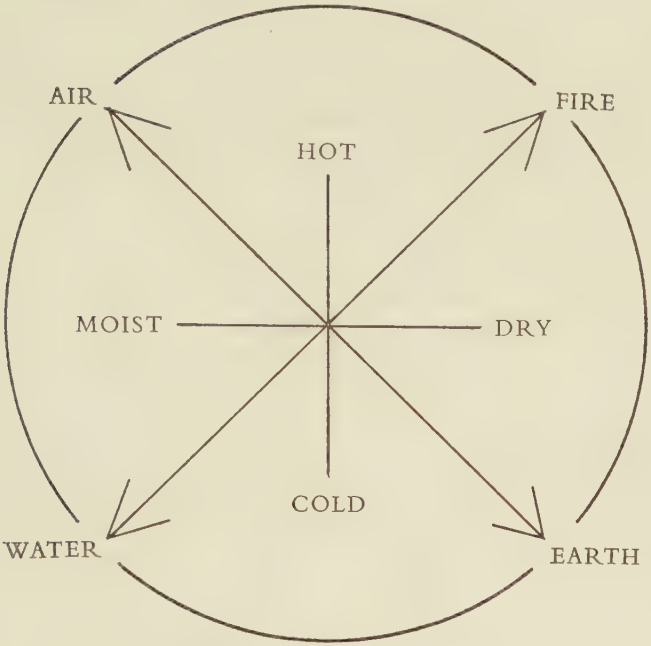
> Water, as arm'd with moisture and with cold,
> The cold-dry Earth with her one hand doth hold;
> With th'other th'Aire: The Aire, as moist and warm,
> Holds Fire with one; Water with th'other arm:
> As Country Maydens, in the Month of *May*,
> Merrily sporting on a Holy-day,
> And lusty dancing of a lively Round,
> About the May-pole, by the Bag-pipes sound;
> Hold hand in hand, so that the first is fast
> (By means of those between) unto the last.

[36] Tr. R. Dolman (London, 1601), p. 179. Macrobius had described the mechanism of the tetrad in complete detail in his *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, tr. William H. Stahl (N. Y., 1952), p. 105 [I.vi.25–28]. Cf. Giovanni Battista della Porta, *Natural Magick* [1658], ed. Derek J. Price (N. Y., 1957), p. 5. Edmund Spenser described the elemental cosmos with surprising succinctness:

> . . . Water fights
> With Fire, and Aire with Earth approaching neere:
> Yet all are in one body, and as one appeare.
> (*Faerie Queene*, VII.vii.25.7–9)

[37] *Arithmetic*, tr. D'Ooge, p. 260.

[38] *Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras* (London, 1657), p. 127.



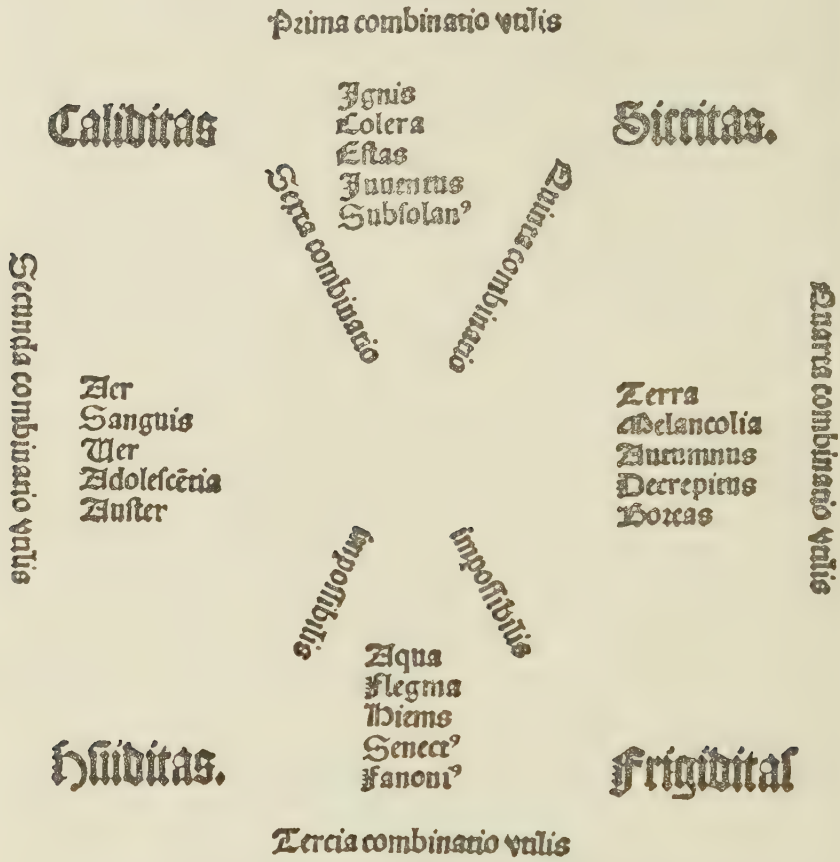
3. Tetrad of elements and qualities

After delineating this mechanism for cosmos, Pythagoras applied the pattern to the various categories of existence:

Indeed the Tetrad cements al things that have any existence together, as the Elements, Numbers, Seasons of the year, and periods of Age. Neither are we to doubt that these flow not from the Tetrad as the root and spring: for the Tetrad, as we said before, is in the Creatour and cause of all things, the Intellectuall God, the Sonne of the Celestiall and Sensible God.[39]

Pythagoras was the first man in western culture to propose a persistent pattern that prevails throughout each level of creation—which is, of course, the ideological basis for the entire microcosm-macrocosm analogy. This integrated system provided a basis for scientific hypothesis and for optimistic philosophical speculation. As Dacier said: 'He first call'd the Universe κόσμον, *Mundum*, to mark the Beauty, the Order and the Regularity that reign thro' all its Parts.'[40] It was recognized that κόσμος means 'embellishment' as well as 'order'.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[40] *Life of Pythagoras*, p. 74.

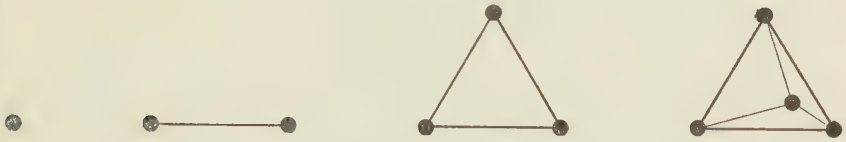


4. Tetrad (Peyligk, *Philosophiae naturalis compendium*)

Figure 4 is a Renaissance version of figure 3 taken from Johann Peyligk, *Philosophiæ naturalis compendium*, printed in 1499 (sig. H1).[41] At the corners are the four basic qualities. On the periphery of the tetrad the possible combinations of these qualities are indicated, while diagonally across the tetrad the impossibility of combinations is noted. The first combination, between hot and dry, produces fire, choler, summer, youth, and Subsolanus, the east wind. The second combination, between hot and moist, produces air, blood, spring, adolescence, and Aus-

[41] Cf. the diagrams in Agostino Nifo, *In libris Aristotelis meteorologicis commentaria* (Venice, 1540), fol. 3v; and Oronce Finé, *De mundi sphæra* (Paris, 1542), reprinted in Edna Kenton, *The Book of Earths* (N. Y., 1928), p. 170.

ter, the south wind. The third combination, between moist and cold, produces water, phlegm, winter, old age, and Favonius, the west wind. The fourth combination, between cold and dry, produces earth, black bile, autumn, decrepitude, and Boreas, the north wind. The fifth combination, however, between dry and moist, is *impossibilis*, as is also the sixth combination between hot and cold.



5. The number four as a solid

The fundamental importance of the number four was verified to the Pythagoreans by other impressive evidence. The name of God in all languages is composed of four letters: e.g., Zeus, Jove, and Jehovah.[42] Geometrically speaking, the number four provides the first solid body (fig. 5): 1 makes only a point, 2 makes only a straight line, 3 makes only a plane surface, but 4 makes a solid with volume,[43] and therefore is the proper number to represent the extended universe. What clinched the essentiality of four, however, was its relationship to the perfect number, ten; $1+2+3+4=10$, and consequently four contains within itself the potentiality of perfection.[44]

The idea of cosmos, then, was a central thesis of Pythagoreanism, and

[42] This was a major point of contact between Pythagoras and the Jews: Pythagoras' τετρακτύς (see note 44) was equated with the Hebrew *tetragrammaton*. 'Therfore did the Pythagorians sweare by this number, as by some holy thing, making (as may be easily conjectured) allusion to that great fower-lettered name of the Hebrues' (La Primaudaye, *French Academie*, p. 178). See also Bayle, *Dictionaire*, 'Pythagoras', footnote H; and Dacier, *Life of Pythagoras*, pp. 32, 316.

[43] Hierocles, *Upon the Golden Verses*, tr. Hall, p. 126 [comm. on ll. 47–48]. La Primaudaye turned even this notion into a tetrad: 'All quantitie is divided into fower, to wit, into a point, into a length, bredth, and depth' (*French Academie*, p. 177). See also Aristotle, *De anima* 404 b 18–404 b 24; Henry More, *Conjectura cabbalistica*, p. 152; and Zeller, I, 434–436.

[44] This relationship between 4 and 10 was expressed in a sacred symbol

.
. .
. . .
. . . .

called the τετρακτύς. For an explanation of why 10 represents perfection, see Nicomachus, *Arithmetic*, tr. D'Ooge, p. 219, n. 1. See also La Primaudaye, *French Academie*, p. 178; Zeller, I, 427–428; and Cornford, 'Mysticism and Science', *Classical Quarterly* XVII (1923), 1 ff. For a critique of these various arguments for the special significance of four, see Cudworth, *Intellectual System*, p. 376.

the tetrad—sometimes called the 'quaternion'—was the symbol which expressed this all-inclusive principle. The tetrad was the basic pattern which subsists throughout the universe. In consequence, there are not only four elements, but also four humors, four seasons, four ages of man, four corners of the world, four cardinal winds, four mental faculties, four rivers of Paradise and four of Hell, four archangels, four evangelists, four cardinal virtues, and so on literally *ad infinitum*. La Primaudaye quoted Hierocles on this point:

> *Hierocles* the interpreter of *Pythagoras*, doth so extoll this number of fower, that he affirmeth it to be the cause of all things, and that nothing can be said or done, which proceedeth not from it, as from the roote and foundation of all nature (p. 178).

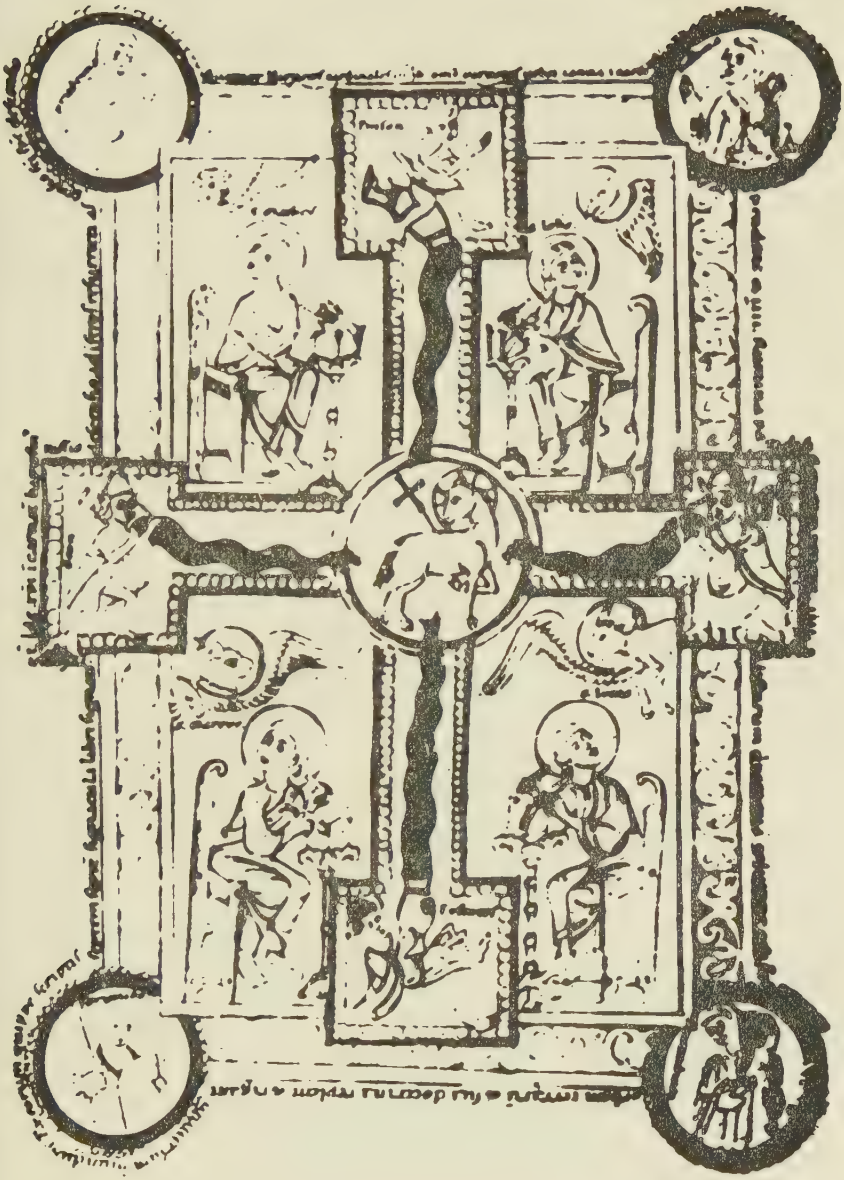
Lists of evident tetrads must have been an integral part of the Pythagorean doctrine from its inception. In extant writings, however—and we must remember that the Pythagoreans were sworn to secrecy and oral communication—explicit delineation of specific tetrads begins in the second century B.C. with the *Expositio rerum mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem utilium* by Theon of Smyrna, who explicated eleven tetrads.[45] But from then on, the tetrad enjoyed a continuous and prolific tradition,[46] culminating for the Renaissance in the elaborately diagrammed 'Scale of the Number Four' in Henry Cornelius Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia* which includes no less than thirty-one tetrads.[47]

Since the tetrad pattern is omnipresent, it was used in the Renaissance to depict the first principle in many different fields of knowledge: 'All the foundation of every deepe studie and invention, must be settled upon the number of fower, bicause it is the roote and beginning of all

[45] Ed. Eduard Hiller (Teubner ed., Leipzig, 1878), pp. 93–106. The *editio princeps*, Greek text with Latin translation, appeared in Paris, 1644.

[46] For examples well-known in the Renaissance, see Philo Judaeus, *De plantatione Noë*, 120 ff., and *De opificio mundi*, 48 ff.; Plutarch, *Opin. of Phil.*, p. 661 [I, iii]; Hierocles, *Upon the Golden Verses*, p. 126; Isidore, *De natura rerum*, vii, 4, xi, 1–3; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis philologiæ et Mercurii*, II, 106 ff., VII, 734; Carolus Bovillus, *Liber de sapiente* (1509), in *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance*, ed. Ernst Cassirer (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 311–312; Du Bartas, *Devine Weekes*, pp. 40, 361; La Primaudaye, *French Academie*, pp. 177, 179 [a redaction of Hierocles]; John Davies of Hereford, *Microcosmos* (1603), ed. A. B. Grosart (London, 1877–1878, Chertsey Worthies' Library), pp. 30–32; and William Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (London, 1647), p. 183. For modern studies of the origin of the tetrad tradition in literature, see Armand Delatte, *Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne* (Paris, 1915), p. 255, and Paul Kucharski, *Étude sur la doctrine pythagoricienne de la tétrade* (Paris, 1952), pp. 18–26.

[47] Tr. J[ohn] F[reake?] (London, 1651), pp. 186–187.



6. Theological tetrad

numbers.'[48] In natural philosophy, as already noted, the tetrad explained the arrangement of the four elements; in theology, it represented the relationship between Christ and the evangelists; in medicine, it balanced the four humors and differentiated the four ages of man; in meteorology, it provided a wind-rose; in astrology, it organized the twelve signs of the zodiac into four seasons; and in alchemy, it showed how the philosophers' stone was the perfect center of the universe. My purpose now is to consider representative examples of these Renaissance tetrads.

Figure 6[49] is an illumination from a twelfth-century breviary. This theological tetrad shows the Lamb of God in the center, the four evangelists with their symbols in the squares surrounding Him (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark), the four rivers of Paradise (the Phison, the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Geon), and the four cardinal virtues (prudence,

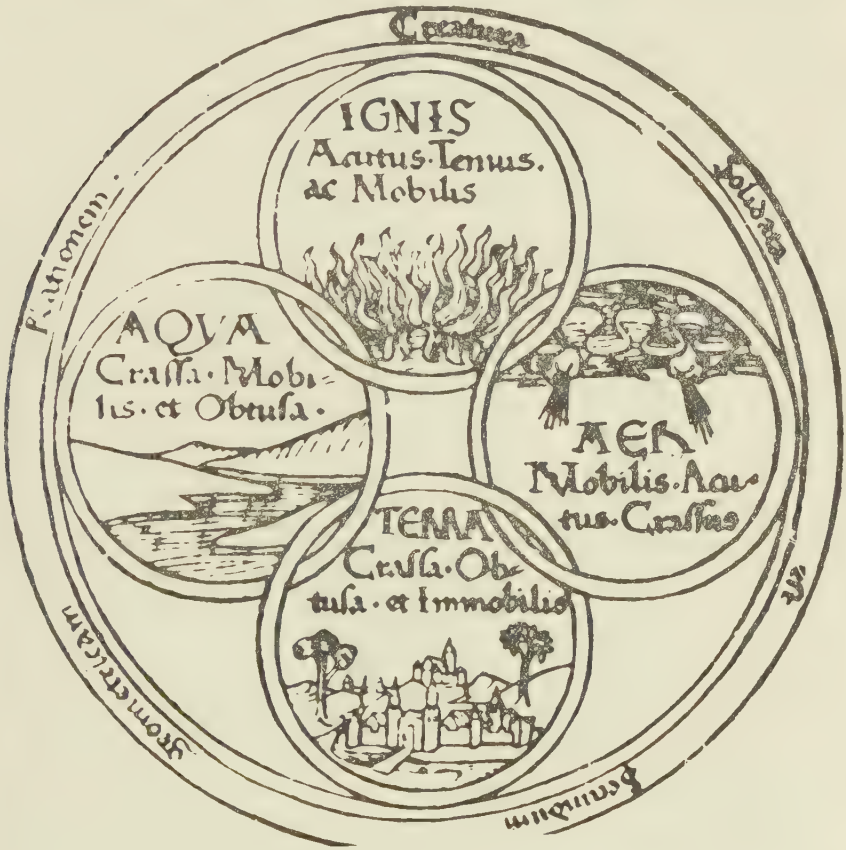
7. Christ and the four elements
(Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, 1482)

[48] La Primaudaye, *French Academie*, p. 177.

[49] Reproduced in C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy* (N. Y., 1953, Bollingen Series XX), p. 125.

justice, temperance, and fortitude). Such a tetrad is more typical of the middle ages than of the Renaissance, although Henry More provided a belated gloss for it: 'There was a very pleasant River that water'd this Garden [of Eden], distinguishable into four streams, which are the four Cardinal Virtues, which are in several degrees in the Soul.'[50]

Now moving into the era of the printed book, we see in figure 7[51] an illustration from a French version of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*, printed in 1482. Christ stands in the midst of the four elements and represents the ideal synthesis of these mundane materials. The elements are not arranged in a true tetrad pattern—that is,



8. The four elements (Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum*, 1472)

50 *Conjectura cabbalistica*, p. 38. See also La Primaudaye, *French Academie*, p. 179.
51 Reproduced in Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, p. 127.

9. The natural sciences (Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum*, 1472)

fire and water, though opposites, are juxtaposed; but this oversight can be explained, I believe, by the probability that this illustration derived from another drawing, a woodcut in the first edition of Isidore of Seville's *De natura rerum*, printed in 1472 (fig. 8). Here we have the four elements similarly arranged, to illustrate the Pythagorean tenet printed around the rim: *Creatura solidata est secundum geometricam rationem.*

This first edition of Isidore provides another woodcut (fig. 9), illustrative of the natural sciences, which shows how the tetrad pattern subsists in the related cosmoi of *mundus*, *annus*, and *homo*. For *mundus*, there are the four elements; for *annus*, there are the four seasons which correspond to the four elements; and for *homo*, there are the four corresponding humors. All is interrelated, unified, harmonious; and the medieval flavor of Isidore is nicely retained in the delicate interlacings. In his *Devine Weekes and Workes*, du Bartas likewise expounded 'a fourefolde Consort in the humors, seasons, and elements' (pp. 377–378).[52]

[52] These correspondences between the elements, the seasons, and the humors were commonplace in classical, medieval, and Renaissance thought; see Rosemond Tuve, *Seasons and Months* (Paris, 1933), pp. 54, 68, 98. The tradition derived from Hippocratic and Galenic medicine, but no doubt originated in theories enunciated by Alcmaeon, most prominent of the Pythagorean physicians, who had postulated: 'Health is the equality of rights of the functions, wet-dry, cold-hot, bitter-sweet and the rest. . . . health is the

The little world of man traditionally integrated the four humors, as in figure 10,[53] where the alchemical hermaphrodite is surrounded by the signs of the zodiac. But man was also the embodiment of other tetrads. The four ages of man corresponded to the four seasons, as Peter Crinitus noted:

Has autem ætates idem Pythagoras quatuor anni temporibus condigna similitudine comparabat: videlicet verno tempori pueros, æstati adolescentes, autumno iuvenes, hyemi senes.[54]

10. The alchemical hermaphrodite (Thurneysser, *Quinta essentia*, 1574)

harmonious mixture of the qualities' (Kathleen Freeman, *Ancilla to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, Cambridge, Mass., 1948, pp. 40–41).

[53] From Leonhard Thurneysser, *Quinta essentia* (Leipzig, 1574), reproduced in Paracelsus, *Selected Writings*, ed. Jolande Jacobi (New York, 1951, Bollingen Series XXVIII), p.93.

[54] *De honesta disciplina*, p. 88 [v, ix]. Crinitus was quoting Diogenes Laertius, *Vitæ*, VIII, 10. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XV, 199–213.

11. Wind-rose (Apianus, *Cosmographicus liber*, 1524)

Paracelsus formed a tetrad from the four basic tastes:

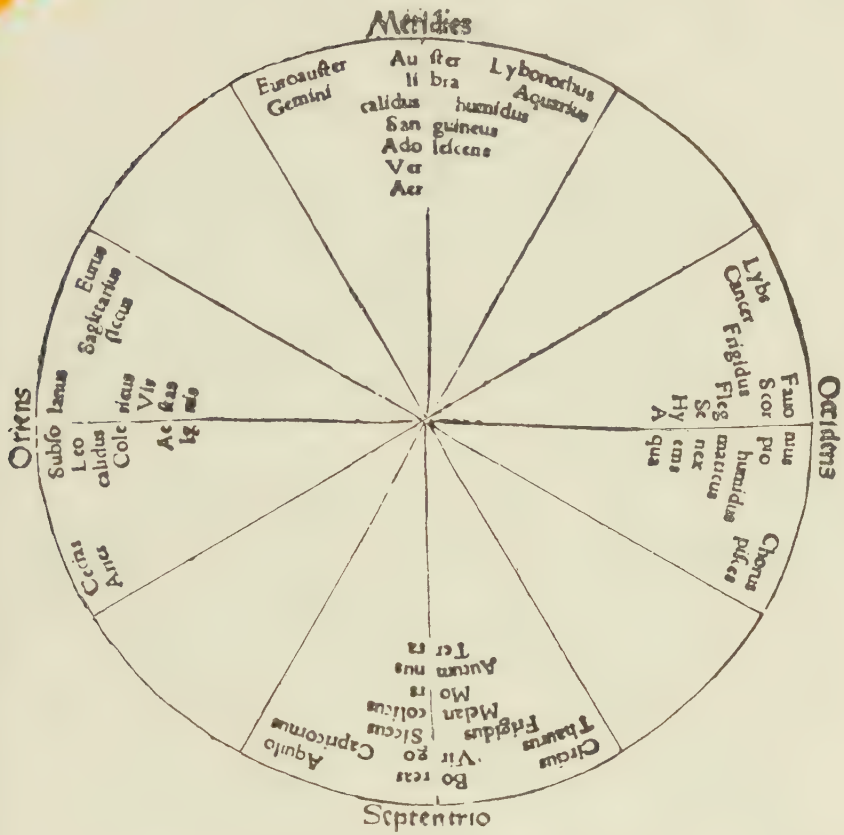
The body has four kinds of taste—the sour, the sweet, the bitter, and the salty. . . . Everything bitter is hot and dry, that is to say, choleric; everything sour is cold and dry, that is to say, melancholic [etc.].[55]

Alexander ab Alexandro applied the tetrad to man's soul:

Pythagorei per quaternionem: siquidem hunc numerum ad animæ integritatem spectare dicunt: in his fuere mens, scientia, opinio, & sensus.[56]

[55] Paracelsus, *Writings*, p. 93.

[56] *Genialium dierum libri sex*, fol. 266v. Alexander is quoting Plutarch, *Opin. of Phil.*,



12. Wind-rose (Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 1519)

The tetrad therefore presented a psychological as well as physiological integration of the human microcosm.

Meteorologists used a tetrad to set forth the winds, such as the representative wind-rose in Apianus' *Cosmographicus liber* of 1524 (fig. 11). The twelve winds are named in various languages, and each cardinal wind is also identified with its appropriate element: the south wind with air, the west wind with water, the north wind with earth, and the east wind with fire. A more complex, though less decorative, wind-rose appeared in Johann Eck's edition of Aristotle's *Meteorologica* prepared for the University of Ingolstadt in 1519 (fig. 12). Here are not only the

p. 661 [I, iii], or Hierocles, *Upon the Golden Verses*, p. 126. Cf. Aristotle, *De anima* 404 b 25–404 b 27; see Kucharski, *Étude sur la tétrade*, pp. 11 ff.

13. The signs of the zodiac (*Kalendar of Shepherds*, 1503)

points of the compass and the twelve winds (given in four groups of three), but also the twelve signs of the zodiac (given in four groups of three), the four basic qualities, the four humors, the four ages of man, the four seasons, and the four elements.

The tetrad arrangement of the twelve signs of the zodiac was, of course, an astrological commonplace. It was also a commonplace, inherited from the middle ages, to associate a human occupation with each of the twelve months.[57] The resultant arrangement, such as figure 13 from the *Kalendar of Shepherds* (1503), epitomized the good life, a perfect integration of all human experience. In the center medallion the lady with her flowers beneath a green tree and the gentleman beside his

[57] This tradition is brilliantly documented by Miss Tuve, *Seasons and Months*, pp. 122–170.

14. Philosophers' stone (Ashmole, *Theatrum chemicum Britannicum*, 1652)

fire beneath a bare tree suggest the reconciliation of opposites, of summer and winter, of female and male—in fact, as in figure 10, they represent an hermaphrodite, the obvious symbol of completeness used by the alchemists.

From astrology to alchemy was a short hop, and without surprise we

find the alchemists relying upon the tetrad to explain the mystery of the philosophers' stone. Elias Ashmole in his *Theatrum chemicum Britannicum* (1652) reproduced an intricate diagram (fig. 14) showing, amongst a myriad of other things, the four elements with the stone placed idealistically at their conjunction. Where air, water, earth, and fire come together in perfect balance, there is the *centrum lapidis*.

The Renaissance can boast at least one major creative work based on the tetrad: the long Latin poem of Conrad Celtis, *Quatuor libri amorum* (Nuremberg, 1502). The title page (fig. 15) reveals an elegant tetrad which includes the four cities at the geographical extremes of Germany, the four bodies of water which mark its boundaries, the four parts of the day, and the four ages of man. In the center is Bohemia and the Elbe. The work is organized according to this plan.[58]

After the prefatory matter, but preceding the text of the poem itself, there is a woodcut by Albrecht Dürer (fig. 16) depicting Lady Philosophy enthroned amidst a tetrad of the wisest men from the most renowned civilizations: Ptolemy, representing the priests of Egypt and Chaldea; Plato, representing the philosophers of Greece; Cicero and Vergil, representing the orators and poets of Rome; and Albertus Magnus, representing the scholars of Germany. From the corners blow the four cardinal winds: Eurus, associated with fire and choler; Zephyrus, associated with air and blood; Auster, associated with water and phlegm; and Boreas, associated with earth and black bile. And the whole is entwined with garlands appropriate to the seasons to form a pseudo-cosmos.

Immediately preceding each of the four books of this poem is an appropriate woodcut setting forth a prospect of the city to which the book is dedicated, including the river that flows by it; and at the top is indicated the corresponding season, age of man, part of the day, wind, humor, zodiacal sign, quality, element, and color. For example, figure 17, which introduces book II, shows Mainz on the Rhine; and in the boxes at the top we have, in correspondence, autumn, youth, sunset, Zephyrus, phlegm, Libra, heat, water, and red. Our observation that these correspondences do not jibe with those established by the tetrad on the title page bespeaks our interest in fact rather than in poetry.

The tetrad also appears prominently in the writings of Thomas Browne, that inquiring *medicus religiosus*. He confided: 'I have often admired the mysticall way of *Pythagoras*, and the secret Magicke of num-

[58] See Lewis W. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp. 86–87.

15. Title page of Celtis, *Quatuor libri amorum* (1502)

16. Lady Philosophy in tetrads (Celtis, *Quatuor libri amorum*, 1502)

17. Moguncia Metropolis (Celtis, *Quatuor libri amorum*, 1502)

bers.'[59] By his usual method of conglomerating authorities, Browne educed the fact that when Cyrus planted his gardens he ordered the trees in rows which formed a 'Quincuncial Lozenge'—in fact, a continuous tetrad. Browne observed that tetrads are an omnipresent pattern in both art and nature, and he exhorted his fellow scientists to continue the search for them:

> A large field is yet left unto sharper discerners to enlarge upon this order, to search out the *quaternio's* and figured draughts of this nature, and moderating the study of names, and meer nomenclature of plants, to erect generalities, disclose unobserved proprieties, not only in the vegetable shop, but the whole volume of nature.[60]

Yet Browne was not willing to subscribe to unbridled numerology:

> To enlarge this contemplation unto all the mysteries and secrets, accommodable unto this number, were inexcusable Pythagorisme.[61]

This denunciation of esoteric Pythagorism was no doubt for the benefit of the Cambridge Platonists.

In baroque form the tetrad appears on the title page of Sandys' translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1632).[62] The splendid engraving presents Jove as fire, Juno as air, Neptune as water, and Ceres as earth, with the pointed inscription: *Ex his oriuntur cuncta.* An accompanying poem which gives 'the minde of the frontispeece' begins:

> Fire, Aire, Earth, Water, all the Opposites
> That strove in *Chaos*, powrefull Love unites;
> And from their Discord drew this Harmonie,
> Which smiles in *Nature*.

In this same vein, Dryden opened his well-known 'Song for St. Cecilia's Day':

> From Harmony, from heav'nly Harmony
> This universal Frame began;
> When Nature underneath a heap
> Of jarring Atomes lay,
> And cou'd not heave her Head,
> The tuneful Voice was heard from high,
> Arise, ye more than dead.

[59] *Religio Medici*, ed. Jean-Jacques Denonain (Cambridge, 1953), p. 19 [I, xii].

[60] *The Garden of Cyrus* printed with *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (4th ed., London, 1658), pp. 72–73.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[62] Cf. the title page of G. B. della Porta's *Natural Magick* (1658).

Then cold and hot and moist and dry
  In order to their Stations leap,
    And MUSICK's pow'r obey.
From Harmony, from heavenly Harmony
    This universal Frame began:
    From Harmony to Harmony
Through all the Compass of the Notes it ran,
The Diapason closing full in Man.

This poem reflects the inevitable culmination of Renaissance humanism. The chief product of creation is man, in whom is heard the diapason of nature, the perfect harmony of God's great variety. The philosophers' next task, clearly, was to analyze the make-up of this abstract harmony; the time was ripe for psychology, for Descartes, Locke, Berkeley, and Hume. The proper study of mankind became not God, not the heavens, not the universe, but *man*. Nonetheless, the tetrad persisted. And today, in the terminology of Jung, modern man must still integrate his personality according to the archetypal pattern of the mandala, which in actuality is a tetrad.[63]

Duke University S. K. HENINGER, JR.

[63] Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, pp. 91 ff.

APPENDIX

FIRST EDITIONS OF MAJOR PYTHAGOREAN PUBLICATIONS TO 1700

Giovanni Aurispa, tr., *Hieroclis . . . in aureos versus Pythagoræ opusculum præstantissimum et religioni christianæ consentaneum* (Padua, 1474).

Pythagoras, *Carmina aurea*, in Constantinus Lascaris, *Erotemata . . .* (Venice, 1494).

Marsilio Ficino, tr., *Pythagoræ philosophi aurea verba. Symbola Pithagoræ philosophi*, in *Iamblichus de mysteriis Ægyptiorum, Chaldæorum, Assyriorum* et al. (Venice, 1497).

Philippo Beroaldo, tr. and comm., *Pythagoræ symbola moraliter explicata* (Bologna, 1500).

Stefano Negri, *Commentarioli in aurea carmina Pythagoræ*, in *Elegantissime e græco authorum subditorum translationes* (Milan, 1521).

Johannes Alexander Brassicanus, tr. and comm., *Proverbiorum symmicta. Quibus adjecta sunt Pythagoræ symbola XVIII* (Vienna, 1529).

Veit Amerbach, tr. and comm., *Poemata Pythagoræ et Phocylidis* (Strasbourg, 1539).

Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *Libelli duo, in quorum altero ænigmata pleraque antiquorum, in altero Pythagoræ symbola . . . sunt explicata* (Basle, 1551).

Joachim Camerarius, ed., *Pythagoræ versus aurei* in *Libellus scolasticus utilis* (Basle, 1551).

Nicolò Scutellio, tr., *Pythagoræ vita ex Iamblicho collecta* (Rome, 1556).

Michael Neander, tr. and comm., *Pythagoræ carmina aurea* in *Opus aureum et scholasticum* (Basle, 1559).

Jean de Strazeele, tr. and comm., *Aureorum Pythagoræ carminum, quibus ratio vitæ bene ac sapienter instituendæ continetur, brevis explanatio* (Paris, 1562).

Claude Mignault, 'Syntagma de symbolis, stemmatum et schematum ratione, quæ insignia seu arma gentilitia vulgo nominantur: deque emblematis', appended to Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1573).

Jean Antoine Baïf, tr., *Les vers dorés de Pitagoras* in *Étrénes de poézie fransoeze* (Paris, 1574).

Jean de Sponde, ed. and tr., *Pythagoreorum veterum fragmenta politica* in *Aristotelis politicorum libri octo* (Basle, 1582).

Willem Canter, ed. and tr., *Pythagoreorum veterum fragmenta ethica* in *Aristotelis ethicorum Nicomachiorum libri decem* (Basle, 1582).

Joannes Curterius, ed. and tr., *Hieroclis philosophi commentarius in aurea Pythagoreorum carmina* (Paris, 1583).

Théodore Marcile, tr. and comm., *Aurea Pythagoreorum carmina* (Paris, 1585).

Joannes Arcerius Theodoretus, ed. and tr., *Iamblichi . . . De vita Pythagoræ . . . Additæ sunt in fine Theanus, Myiæ, Melissæ & Pythagoræ aliquot epistolia* (Heidelberg, 1598).

Didier Hérauld, *Adversariorum libri duo. Quibus adjunctus est animadversionum eiusdem in librum Jamblichi de vita Pythagoræ* (Paris, 1599).

Joachim Zehner, ed. and tr., *Pythagoræ fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1603).

Dardi Bembo, tr., *Commento di Ierocle filosofo sopra i versi di Pitagora, detti d'oro* (Venice, 1604).

Conrad Rittershus, ed., *Malchus* [i.e., Porphyry] *de vita Pythagoræ* (Altdorf, 1610).

Giovanni Donati Ferrario, tr., [*Porphyrii*] *Pythagoræ vita* (Milan, 1629).

Lucas Holstein, ed. and tr., *Porphyrii liber de vita Pythagoræ. . . . Dissertationem de vita et scriptis Porphyrii et ad vitam Pythagoræ observationes adjecit . . .* (Rome, 1630).

Johann Elichmann, tr., *Aurea carmina Pythagoræ* in *Simplicii commentarius in enchiridion Epicteti . . .* (Leyden, 1640).

Thomas Stanley, tr. and comm., *Carmina aurea* in *Poems* (London, 1651).

Meric Casaubon, *Notæ ad commentarium Hieroclis in aurea carmina* in *Hieroclis de providentia et fato . . .* (London, 1655).

John Hall, tr., *Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras* (London, 1657).

[Count] Francesco Berni, *Arcana moralia ex Pythagoræ symbolis collecta* (Ferrara, 1669).

John Norris, tr., *Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of the Pythagoreans* (London, 1682).

Edmund Arwaker, *Thoughts Well Employ'd; or, the Duty of Self-Observation. To which are Added Pythagoras's Golden Verses Made Christian* (London, 1695).

Petrarch's *Accidia*

HENEVER Petrarch's significance for the history of European thought and sentiment is assessed, a great deal of attention is given to his 'melancholy'. Apart from his poetry it is the *Secretum* which presents most clearly this aspect of Petrarch's inner life. In this work Petrarch analyzed his sentiment under the name of *accidia*. Literary critics since Sainte-Beuve have seen behind this concept the same psychic malady that beset Werther or René and, more recently, Baudelaire. Scholars, on the other hand, have tried to locate Petrarch's *accidia* in a more or less linear development from *acedia*,[1] the medieval sin of spiritual negligence, to modern melancholy, *Weltschmerz*, or *ennui*.

To date, however, no accurate comparison has been made between the sin and Petrarch's sentiment. Utterances on this subject are vague and frequently contradictory. A large group of scholars have accepted Petrarch's transformation of the vice into a noble sentiment without further discussion. Geiger, for example, spoke of three phases of *acedia*. First a 'monastic disease' (*Klosterkrankheit*), it was changed by Dante into a 'secular disease', only to be elevated, by Petrarch, to a philosophical predicament:

> Now it is no longer a spiritual sin which would exclude the faithful from eternal bliss, nor is it a secular malady that bans the useful members of society from the company of joyful human beings; rather, it becomes a genuinely human suffering which visits especially the best [*die Tüchtigsten*], i.e., the struggle between appearance and reality, the effort to fill the wasteland of everydayness with philosophic thought.[2]

[1] In medieval Latin *acedia* and *accidia* are spelling variants of the same term. In this study I use *acedia* consistently for the deadly sin and *accidia* for Petrarch's sentiment, except of course in direct quotations.

[2] Ludwig Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland* (Berlin, 1882), p. 26.

Zöckler likewise saw in this change an idealization of 'the ancient monastic vice of indolent dullness' to 'noble melancholy or *Weltschmerz*'.[3] Similarly, Dilthey said, 'it is the old monastic disease in a new form'.[4] A more recent scholar, Hugo Friedrich, has distinguished between Dante's and Petrarch's *accidia*, claiming that Petrarch made the concept into 'a positive value, viz., the condition for the contemplative life' and thus began 'the modern cult of melancholy'.[5]

Other scholars consider Petrarch's *accidia*, not as *Weltschmerz*, the 'gloomy brooding and indolent sorrow at the badness of the world', but rather as the true medieval vice.[6] A third position is taken by those who, more cautiously, abstain from claiming for Petrarch's term a more advanced stage in the development which the concept *acedia* supposedly underwent. Realizing the difference between Petrarch's *accidia* and the medieval vice, Voigt declared Petrarch's use of the word 'totally unfitting' and excused the slip by citing Petrarch's ignorance of etymology and scorn for the schoolmen.[7] In a similar fashion, Tatham was puzzled by where Petrarch got the term and surmised that the source was Dante, whose vice of *accidia* Petrarch modified under the influence of Cicero and Seneca.[8] A contemporary student of Petrarch's moral philosophy, Klaus Heitmann, agrees with Tatham and claims that Petrarch's *accidia* fuses the capital sin with the principal affect *aegritudo* (or *dolor*) of the Stoics.[9] But Heitmann, primarily concerned with the *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, presents no further comparison of *accidia* with the sin.

Such a comparison is the object of the present study. After briefly surveying the treatment of *accidia* in the *Secretum*, I shall point out its close affinity with the capital sin and, finally, focus upon the differences in Petrarch's concept which give the old term new dimensions in fourteenth-century moral thought.

[3] Otto Zöckler, *Die Tugendlehre des Christentums geschichtlich dargestellt in der Entwicklung ihrer Lehrformen* (Gütersloh, 1904), p. 279.

[4] Wilhelm Dilthey, 'Auffassung und Analyse des Menschen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert', *Gesammelte Schriften* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1921), II, 23.

[5] Hugo Friedrich, *Die Rechtsmetaphysik der Göttlichen Komödie* (Frankfurt, 1942), p. 174.

[6] Hans Nachod and Paul Stern, *Briefe des Francesco Petrarca* (Berlin, 1931), p. 386.

[7] Georg Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus* (3d ed., Berlin, 1893), I, 140.

[8] Edward H. R. Tatham, *Francesco Petrarca, the First Modern Man of Letters* (London, 1926), II, 263–264.

[9] Klaus Heitmann, *Fortuna und Virtus. Eine Studie zu Petrarcas Lebensweisheit* (Köln, 1958, Studi Italiani, I).

The initial proposition of the *Secretum*[10]—springing from Franciscus' meditation on the origin and end of life, which is interrupted by the appearance of Lady Veritas and St. Augustine—is that unhappiness depends entirely on man's free will. Franciscus questions this principle by referring to his personal experience: he has felt his own misery and wept over it, but has not become happy. Augustinus charges him with not making a serious effort of the will, which would quench all desire for inferior goods and which could be achieved by an intense meditation upon man's mortality. Franciscus has, it appears, already engaged in such an exercise, but without success. Then, Augustinus concludes, his mind is enslaved by the four passions which distract and disturb him. Hence Franciscus' inner split, his dissatisfaction with being imperfect and his impotence in the face of it. To settle this internal war, Franciscus must begin with an accurate examination of his moral life, which is undertaken in the second discourse under Augustinus' prompting and with reference to the seven deadly sins. Before Augustinus, in the third discourse, singles out the two deepest and most serious wounds of Franciscus' soul—his desire for love and for glory—, the two speakers discuss at length the last of the vices, *accidia* (pp. 106–128). Franciscus confesses that he has been often and heavily tormented by this 'pest', so that he shudders at the mere mention of its name. It is a sadness (*tristitia*) which makes everything appear hard, miserable, and horrible, and which leads souls to despair and perdition. While other vices may attack frequently but only for a short time, *accidia* is a 'tenacious plague' that keeps people in its grip for entire days and nights. But the peak of its wickedness is that the sufferer feeds with a dark craving upon his tears and pains; he relishes *accidia* so much that he is loath to leave it.

Augustinus asks what causes such sorrow—the passing of temporal things, the suffering of the body, or an injury from bitter fortune? Franciscus replies that his *accidia* is not caused by any single stroke of fortune but results from a concurrence of mishaps. It springs from the cumulative discouragement which the consideration of present miseries, the remembrance of past efforts, and the fear of the future jointly produce. This depression leads to a general 'hatred and contempt for the human condition'. Franciscus suffers from a total lack of joy; everything displeases him, his own good as much as that of others. *Accidia*, therefore, means, first of all, dissatisfaction with fortune. Augustinus counsels

[10] Ed. Enrico Carrara, in *Francesco Petrarca, Prose*, ed. G. Martellotti et al. (Milan, 1955). My page references are to this edition.

Franciscus to look at others who are less fortunate than he and to recognize the hardships of a higher position. Franciscus agrees and promises to be humble, even though his modesty might be mistaken by his contemporaries for indolence and cowardice. The subject touched upon here—the moral evaluation of the pursuit of fame—is left for discussion in the following discourse. Franciscus' *accidia* is not really sadness about other people's better fortune; rather, it is caused by his own mishaps, by fear about the future, and by the necessity to live for others—all of which keep him from ever enjoying 'the sweetness derived from the gifts of Fortune'.

Augustinus points out the childishness of complaining in this way at conditions which, after all, are universal and inalterable. Franciscus accepts this rebuke. He passes lightly over the sorrow that may arise from contemplating mortality and the heaviness of the body. But then he lingers on the boredom of his life (*vite mee tedia*) and his daily disgust with the ugliness and noise of the city. Everything there nauseates him: the stinking streets full of dirty pigs and wild dogs, the clanging of wheels that shakes the walls, the spectacle of all types of people bartering and begging with shouts. If God would only save him from this shipwreck, because it is like hell . . . Augustinus drily remarks that his complaint is leveled against dwelling in a spot unfit for studies. Franciscus' mind could not be moved by outward disturbances if he had peace within him. To achieve this, he should read treatises on peace of mind and take notes as spiritual medicine against all vices, particularly against *accidia*.

The concept which is thus applied to the malady of Franciscus had, by the middle of the fourteenth century, already been in existence for a millennium.[11] It originated among the Egyptian desert monks of the third and fourth centuries. Evagrius Ponticus (d. 399), who recorded much of the monks' experience and teaching, grouped *acedia* among the eight chief 'evil thoughts' (λογισμοί)[12]—the series of vices which formed

[11] For the history of *acedia* see: Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*, new ed. (Paris, 1733), I, 90–91; Henry Cochin, *Le Frère de Pétrarque et le livre 'Du repos des religieux'* (Paris, 1903), pp. 205–221; Francis Paget, *The Spirit of Discipline*, fourth ed. (London, 1892), pp. 1–50; G. Bardy, 'Acedia', *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, I (Paris, 1937), 166–169; E. Vansteenberghe, 'Paresse', *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XI, part 2 (Paris, 1932), 2023–2030; P. Alphandéry, 'De quelques documents médievaux relatifs à des états psychasthéniques', *Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique* XXVI (1929), 763–787.

[12] Previous studies of the concept have not shown the importance of Evagrius in the

the basis of Gregory the Great's list of the seven capital sins.[13] In Evagrius, *acedia* is boredom of the cell which makes the monk either fall asleep or flee his cell and his religious profession altogether. The ultimate end of this temptation is despair. Both the concept and the scheme of chief vices were introduced to the Latin west by Cassian, whose *Institutiones* and *Collationes* formed prescribed reading matter for monastic communities throughout the middle ages.

Yet the idea of *acedia* underwent further developments. Gregory the Great did not use the term in his list of seven *vitia capitalia*, but incorporated its main aspects in the sin of *tristitia*.[14] This change was probably due to various reasons.[15] First, the living conditions and ascetic techniques among western monks differed from those of the desert fathers in ways which would make the original *acedia* a temptation of much smaller importance.[16] Second, Gregory may have realized the conceptual closeness between the Evagrian-Cassianic sins of *tristitia* and *acedia* and combined their chief aspects into his *tristitia*.[17] But this innovation was not readily accepted. Carolingian and later theologians up to the schoolmen used lists of both seven and eight vices, until finally the terms were employed synonymously. One reason for the continued use of *acedia* may have been the easy confusion between the Evagrian-Cassianic vice *tristitia* and the affect of the same name which, in Hellenistic psychology, was one of the four main passions of the soul. During those centuries *acedia* not only remained in the theological vocabulary, but its reference was widened beyond the monastic life to Christian existence in general. The vice came then to be defined as negligence in performing spiritual works, or spiritual sloth.

Scholastic thinkers, finally, solved the problem of the conceptual

history of *acedia*. This may be due to the fact that the establishment of a *corpus Evagrianum* is of only very recent date; cf. J. Muyldermans, *Evagriana Syriaca* (Louvain, 1952, Bibl. du Muséon, vol. 31).

[13] For the history of the scheme of capital sins see Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* ([East Lansing], 1952).

[14] *Moralia in Job*, XXXI, 45 (*PL* LXXVI, 621).

[15] Cf. Dom Robert Gillet in his introduction to Gregory's *Morales sur Job*, ed. Dom André de Gaudemaris (Paris, 1952, Sources Chrétiennes I), p. 91.

[16] Cf. Rhabanus Maurus: 'Sancti Patres Aegypti et Palestini orientaliumque regionum . . . acediam vero unum ex octo principalibus vitiis esse affirmaverunt, ob hoc videlicet quod monachis ac solitariis magis experta est haec passio, et in eremo conversantibus infestior hostis ac frequens' (*De vitiis et virtutibus*, III, 54; *PL* CXII, 1377–1378).

[17] Gregory's *tristitia* is a new creation and not, as has been often believed, the mere continuation of Cassian's *tristitia* (whereby *acedia* would have been simply dropped) nor the simple addition of *tristitia* and *acedia*.

confusion between *acedia*, the Cassianic sin *tristitia*, and the affect *tristitia*. St. Thomas considered the sin of *acedia* as a species of the affect *tristitia* and, consequently, defined it as 'tristitia de spirituali bono'.[18] It is sinful —and a root of many other vices—to be sorrowful with regard to the divine good, that is, not to love the things of God as is fitting. Here the definition of this concept reached its most abstract point.

At the same time, *acedia* with the other 'deadly sins' began to occupy an important place in popular religious instruction. The new emphasis on preaching and confession, decreed by the fourth Lateran Council (1215), made it necessary to present the doctrine of the seven deadly sins in a form which could be easily remembered by preachers and confessors and grasped without difficulty by the layman. This was achieved through schematization, allegorizing, and the use of exemplary illustrations. Of special interest for our purpose is the progeny of the sin: the host of diversified faults which can be attributed to one vice as their source. Cassian and Gregory had already listed several species or 'daughters' of *acedia*.[19] In the thirteenth and following centuries the offspring frequently grew to astonishing proportions, although a scheme of sixteen to eighteen species of the sin, arranged in some psychological order, became more or less standard.[20]

By the fourteenth century, then, *acedia* was a very complex term, belonging to the technical vocabulary of moral theology. It denoted sorrow, weariness, or negligence about spiritual goods and included a wide variety of faults, ranging from non-attendance of Sunday mass to lack

[18] It is dealt with in *Summa theol.*, II–II, qu. 35, and *De malo*, qu. 11.

[19] Cassian: 'De acedia [nascuntur] otiositas, somnolentia, inportunitas, inquietudo, peruagatio, instabilitas mentis et corporis, uerbositas, curiositas' (*Collationes*, V, 16; ed. M. Petschenig, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, XIII, Vienna, 1886). Gregory the Great: 'De tristitia, malitia, rancor, pusillanimitas, desperatio, torpor circa praecepta, vagatio mentis erga illicita nascitur' (*Moral.*, XXXI, 45; *PL* LXXVI, 621).

[20] The model for the progenies in such handbooks was Peraldus' *Summa virtutum et vitiorum*, with sixteen species of *acedia*. Its treatment of the seven deadly sins was used by Frère Lorens in his *Somme le Roi* (1279), where the offspring of *acedia* is arranged in three groups of six species each. The *Somme* furnished the model for many vernacular handbooks for lay instruction and confession, such as the Middle English *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (1340), the *Book of Vices and Virtues* (c. 1375), and *Jacob's Well* (fifteenth century), and the Italian *Libro dei vizii e delle virtù* (c. 1350). A contemporary of Petrarch, Alvarus Pelagius, also used Peraldus' progeny in his compendium *De planctu ecclesiae* (1335–1340; cf. Nicolas Iung, *Alvaro Pelayo*, Paris, 1931). His sixteen branches of *acedia* are: tepiditas, mollities, somnolentia, otium, dilatio, tarditas, negligentia, imperseverantia, remissio, dissolutio, penuria (listed only, not treated; in Peraldus: incuria), ignavia, indevotio, tristitia, tedium vite, desperatio (ed. [Lyons,] Johannes Clein, [1517,] ff. 246 f.).

of joy in prayer and despair at one's salvation. The concept was, furthermore, part of the religious instruction which the church periodically administered to the lay folk. Unlike such theological or metaphysical terms as, say, *synderesis* or *transubstantiatio*, *acedia* was not restricted to the technical literature of the schoolmen, but appeared in numerous handbooks and collections of sermons written for popular instruction. This would mean, I think, that Petrarch was familiar with the term though he never studied and even despised the scholastics, just as in our time any fairly educated person is conversant with the 'collective unconscious', though he may never have looked into Jung.

But beyond assuming Petrarch's familiarity with the term from catechetical instruction, one can argue the affinity of his *accidia* with the sin of spiritual sloth on other grounds: its discussion within the scheme of the seven deadly sins; the main definition which Petrarch gives for his concept; and the likeness of its major symptoms with several conventional species of the sin.

Despite its frequency in theological and devotional literature, *acedia* was throughout the middle ages a highly technical term. It is almost always found only in connection with the other capital sins, whether in a mere enumeration or in more extensive treatments. Outside the series of deadly sins, the term *acedia* scarcely ever occurs. Many times monastic writers gave isolated descriptions of what cannot be anything but *acedia*, yet they did not use the word. Instead, they employed terms referring to specific aspects of the vice, such as *moeror*, *maestitia*, *torpor negligentiae*, *desidia*, etc.[21] Petrarch's *Secretum* follows the rule: the term *accidia* appears within the scheme of the seven deadly sins, which furnishes the structure of the second discourse. Here the two speakers analyze Franciscus' moral life in terms of the conventional sin scheme, beginning with *superbia* (p. 70) and dealing successively with *invidia* (p. 82), avarice (p. 82),[22] *gula* (p. 96), *ira* (p. 96), *luxuria* (p. 98), and *accidia* (p. 106). The sequence of sins (SIAGILA) does not agree with the more common schemes (SIAAGL or SALIGIA), but we know that in the middle ages the order of the sins was never definitely fixed.[23] In the discourse, both speakers follow this scheme without question. As soon as Augustinus proposes to show Franciscus the host of spiritual enemies that surround him, he

[21] Three good examples are: Gregory, *Moral.*, x, 18 (*PL* LXXV, 939 f.); *Dial.*, I, I, Introd. (*PL* LXXVII, 149); Bernard, *Sermo 54 in Cant.*, VIII (*PL* CLXXXIII, 1041 f.).

[22] This sin is introduced as 'rerum temporalium appetitus' and includes ambition.

[23] See Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, *passim*.

thinks of, and organizes, these 'enemies' in terms of the seven deadly sins, beginning with *superbia*, which is traditionally the leader of all the other sins.[24] Franciscus likewise thinks in the same pattern when, for example, he turns from the discussion of *superbia* to *invidia*. It is clear that the speakers presuppose, as a matter of course, that an examination of conscience has to be made in terms of the seven chief vices. Thus, Petrarch uses *accidia* within its conventional theological framework.

It should not be overlooked that *accidia* and the other attitudes discussed in the second discourse of the *Secretum* are conceived of as morally evil. Passions and vices—of which man is capable because his soul is tied to a body (p. 64)—make man forget his better nature. 'Hence that plague of *fantasmata* which shatters and wrecks your thoughts and, with pernicious variety, blocks the way to those illuminating meditations by which one ascends to the only one and supreme light' (pp. 64–66). The vices, in other words, prevent man from reaching the goal he was created for. Augustinus frequently uses in this connection the traditional metaphor of the enemies which besiege and attack the soul.[25] Being one of them, *accidia* is consistently treated as an attitude that is harmful to Franciscus' mental and spiritual existence, as I think my survey of its discussion has demonstrated. I can, therefore, see no reason for attributing to the *accidia* of the *Secretum* (as Hugo Friedrich has done) a 'positive value'.

Accidia not only shares the morally negative nature of the capital sin, but also agrees with it *in genere*. Petrarch calls *accidia* several times *tristitia* (pp. 106, 126, 128); St. Thomas' definition of *acedia* was 'tristitia de spirituali bono'. But Petrarch seemingly deviates from the medieval conception of *acedia* by equating it with a pre-Christian term. The discussion of *accidia* begins with the statement 'quedam pestis animi, quam accidiam moderni, veteres egritudinem dixerunt' (p. 106). The *veteres* are the Stoics, in particular Cicero, for whom *aegritudo* (distress, sorrow, or pain) was one of the four principal passions of the soul.[26] In reality, Petrarch's equation of the vice with the Stoic affect parallels Thomas

[24] Cassian: 'origine tamen et tempore primus [morbus]' (*Inst.*, XII, 1; ed. M. Petschenig, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, XVII, Vienna, 1888); 'omniumque peccatorum et criminum esse principium' (*Inst.*, XII, 6). Gregory calls *superbia* 'ipsa namque vitiorum regina' and 'radix quippe cuncti mali' (*Moral.*, XXXI, 45; *PL* LXXVI, 620–621).

[25] 'Multa te obsident, multa circumstrepunt, tuque ipse quot adhuc aut quam validis hostibus circumsidearis ignoras' (p. 68). 'Ubi ante oculos tuos hinc illinc prementia teque circumvallantia, mala coniecero' (p. 70).

[26] *Tusc.*, III, 10, 23 ff.

Aquinas' psychological derivation of the deadly sin from the affect *tristitia*. The affect is in both cases exactly the same, the Greek λύπη. St. Thomas, in his psychology, followed distinctions made by the fifth-century bishop Nemesius of Emesa[27] (whose writings, in the thirteenth century, went under the name of Gregory of Nyssa), who had adopted the Stoic doctrine of the four main affects and established four species of λύπη, one of which came to be identified with *acedia*.[28] On the other hand, Cicero translated the Stoic λύπη as *aegritudo*. This affect was eventually called *tristitia*, a name used among Christian writers throughout the middle ages from at least the time of St. Augustine on.[29] It is doubtful whether Petrarch knew these historical relations, but it is obvious that, except for the Ciceronian term, his *accidia* agrees with the scholastic *acedia* as to its position in the psychology of the passions. What the *veteres* had called *aegritudo* was, indeed, the conceptual and historical predecessor of the capital sin *acedia*.

The close relation of Petrarch's term with the conventional sin can be further demonstrated in its symptoms. *Acedia* led to a multitude of diverse faults and sinful attitudes (schematized in the progeny of the sin), which may be roughly divided into religious laziness and spiritual dejection. The latter, born of a flagging of psychic tension, resulted in disgust, doubt, and despair, and it is this aspect of the sin—often referred to as 'monastic *acedia*'—that dominates in Petrarch's discussion of *accidia*. The characteristic symptoms of Franciscus' malady—grief,[30] tedium,[31] disgust and hatred of life,[32] general joylessness,[33] and constant inclina-

[27] *De natura hominis*, 19 (*PG* XL, 688). Cf. B. Domański, *Die Psychologie des Nemesius* (Münster, 1900, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters III, 1). John of Damascus also adopted Nemesius' distinction (*De fide orthodoxa*, II, 14; *PG* XCIV, 932) and transmitted it to the west.

[28] Burgundio translated one of the four species of λύπη as 'accidia'; see *John Damascene, De Fide Orthodoxa. Versions of Burgundio and Cerbanus*, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert (St. Bonaventure, New York, 1955, Franciscan Institute Publications, Text Series, no. 8), ch. 28.

[29] 'De tristitia vero, quam Cicero magis aegritudinem appellat, dolorem autem Vergilius . . . (sed ideo malui tristitiam dicere, quia aegritudo vel dolor usitatius in corporibus dicitur) . . . ,' *De civ. Dei*, XIV, 7 (ed. Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, vol. 48, Turnhout, 1955). *Aegritudo* is used ambiguously for psychic as well as bodily disease in Cassian, *passim*. Jerome still called the passion *aegritudo*, *Dial. adv. Pelag.*, Prol. (*PL* XXIII, 517); see also *Ep.* XXII, 27 (*PL* XXII, 413).

[30] 'Tristitia', pp. 106, 126, 128; 'omnibus oppressus non mestissimus esse non valeo', p. 108.

[31] 'Vite mee tedia', 'quotidianum fastidium', p. 120.

[32] 'Humane conditionis odium atque contemptus', p. 108.

[33] 'Tua omnia tibi displicent.—Aliena non minus', p. 110; 'nullam ex fortune muneribus dulcedinem capio', p. 116.

tion to despair[34]—are paralleled (often even verbally) by major effects or main 'branches' of the theological vice. *Tristitia* was, of course, used synonymously for *acedia*;[35] moreover, in the longer progenies of the sin it formed a special branch.[36] Boredom with one's surroundings and the resultant disgust with life in general were basic to the *acedia* of monks;[37] Cassian had used the term *taedium* to translate ἀκηδία,[38] and in the thirteenth-century progenies *taedium vitae* was one of the branches.[39] Like Petrarch's malady, *acedia* also deprived its victims of all spiritual joy. Hugh of St. Victor defined the vice as 'ex confusione mentis nata tristitia, sive taedium et amaritudo animi immoderata; qua iucunditas spiritualis extinguitur'.[40] For St. Thomas *acedia* was the sinful attitude directly opposed to the love of God and the joy about divine things. Lastly, Petrarch's *accidia* is 'semper ad desperationem via' (p. 106). Here, too, Petrarch follows the tradition of the deadly sin. *Desperatio* had been a branch of *acedia* since Gregory's progeny. In popular handbooks it was the last species of the capital sin.[41]

Since, then, Petrarch's *accidia* is characterized by psychological phenomena which can be found among the species of the sin *acedia*, and since Franciscus' malady occupies the same position in the scholastic context of the passions as the deadly sin, we must affirm the close affinity of the two. This, however, does not imply absolute identity, because Petrarch's malady deviates in several important ways from the concept of *acedia*. For one thing, Franciscus includes touches that are totally foreign to descriptions of the capital sin. The most obvious case in point is his secret delight in his sufferings: 'Et (qui supremus miseriarum cumulus dici potest) sic lacrimis et doloribus pascor, atra quadam cum voluptate, ut invitus avellar' (p. 106). Voluptuous feeding on one's *dolores*, which in the *Secretum* is not a remedy[42] but a symptom of *accidia*, was to

[34] 'Semper ad desperationem via', p. 106.

[35] 'Acedia vel tristitia' (Peter Lombard, *Sent.*, II, 42, 8; *PL* CXCII, 753); cf. Hugh of St. Victor (?), *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, 7 (*PL* CLXXVI, 1000).

[36] In Peraldus' list *tristitia* is the fourteenth branch; likewise in Alvarus Pelagius'.

[37] 'Horrorem loci, cellae fastidium, fratrum quoque . . . aspernationem gignit atque contemptum' (Cassian, *Inst.*, X, 2).

[38] 'Sextum nobis certamen est, quod Graeci ἀκηδίαν vocant, quam nos taedium sive anxietatem cordis possumus nuncupare' (*Inst.*, X, 1).

[39] The fifteenth in Peraldus and Alvarus.

[40] *De sacram.*, II, 13, 1 (*PL* CLXXVI, 526).

[41] Cf. above, notes 19 and 20.

[42] That weeping in sorrow is delectable and, therefore, an appropriate remedy for *tristitia*, was good scholastic doctrine; cf. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, I–II, qu. 38, art. 2, resp.

my knowledge never included in medieval progenies of the vice *acedia*.

Yet the essential difference between the two ideas lies much deeper. *Acedia* was defined as sadness *with regard to spiritual goods*; likewise, the joylessness which grows out of the vice was the opposite of *spiritual* joy. In other words, though the deadly sin as well as Petrarch's *accidia* produce the same psychological phenomena (grief, boredom, dejection, etc.), these symptoms refer, in each case, to different values. This is evident when we look at the causes of Petrarch's malady.[43] His grief originates in the consideration of the miseries of 'the human condition', both personal and universal, and in meditation upon the instability of life seen under the rule of fickle fortune. In contrast, the sin of spiritual sorrow grew from lack of religious emotion (*indevotio*), the feeling that one made no progress in the spiritual life, and boredom with the monotony of prayer, meditation, or attendance at mass as soon as these practices failed to lift one's heart. *Acedia*, thus, had a continuous reference to man's religious activities; it was a theological vice. Petrarch's *accidia*, on the other hand, has nothing to do with the religious life; it is a 'humanistic' vice, caused by reflection on *fortuna* and the unstable *humana conditio*. Its evil effect, similarly, consists, not in cutting man off from the grace of God, but in hindering him from achieving peace of mind, the *conditio sine qua non* for a great and unified personality. While the medieval *acedia* endangered the attainment of the noblest and highest values in man's spiritual life, Petrarch's *accidia* is an impediment to the humanist's noble and fruitful work for self-development and self-expression.

The desire for self-expression gives Petrarch's treatise its peculiar personal tone. His work is, indeed, the self-analysis of an individual human being. Numerous medieval 'confessions', especially the so-called penitential lyrics, were wholesale self-accusations of guilt in all the sins and, therefore, lacked personal, autobiographic reference.[44] Not so the *Secretum*. The 'psychograph' which emerges at the end of the second dialogue shows an individual who is much plagued by some defects, and relatively free from others (viz., from envy, gluttony, and wrath; pp. 82 and 96). Moreover, the vices are applied to Franciscus' particular

[43] Dr. Hans Baron has called my attention to the fact that Petrarch's discussion of the causes of *accidia* in the earlier version of the *Secretum* (1342) is more traditional than in the 'definitive' version on which I have based my study (early 1350s). This would strengthen my view that Petrarch's thought was firmly based on the medieval concept and only gradually transformed it and gave it more personal tones.

[44] Cf. Georg Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, II, part 1, second half (Frankfurt, 1955), 483 ff.

character and his individual form of existence. When Augustinus and Franciscus discuss *superbia*, for example, they speak about the scholar's pride in knowledge, eloquence, and physical appearance. Similarly, avarice appears in the form of the bustling activity of the humanist, who claims that he has to be busy for the sake of his friends and in order to earn his living, but who is finally convinced that the motives for his constant busyness are ambition and desire of fame. The application of the conventional sin scheme to an individual character and his behavior becomes most personal in the third discourse, where no longer are Everyman's vices discussed, but Petrarch's hunger for *amor et gloria*.

Accordingly, Franciscus' *accidia* takes on the features of Petrarch's personal experience. It is not the layman's shrinking from the performance of religious duties, nor the monk's boredom with the cell, but refers to the humanist's grief caused by the miseries of the 'human condition' (which are not attributed to original sin, but to the instability of fortune) and to his oversensitivity,[45] which chafes against conditions that are incompatible with the life of a scholar and man of letters.

In sum, I believe we are justified in considering the *accidia* of Petrarch's *Secretum* as a secularized form of the medieval capital sin. Careful comparison of the two concepts reveals that Petrarch's *accidia* is firmly based on the vice as it was defined and taught by scholastic theologians and popular preachers. The affinity of the two goes beyond a mere continuity of the name, as I hope to have demonstrated. At the same time, Petrarch's *accidia* represents a development of the idea which underlay the capital sin. This 'innovation' consists, actually, not so much in using Ciceronian and Senecan terms (by the middle of the fourteenth century sentences from these authors had penetrated even into literature which was avowedly written for strictly religious instruction[46]), as in detaching the concept from its traditional theological reference. Petrarch's *accidia* —together with the other defects discussed in the *Secretum*—belongs no longer to the system of Christian moral theology, but to the pursuit of secular wisdom. In this we can see a serious and meaningful transposition of the conventional medieval thought pattern: serious, because Petrarch uses the sin scheme with its implications of moral evil and

[45] In the enlarged progeny of the *Somme le Roi* and its followers (eighteen species), the branch 'tristesce' bears features of oversensitivity; in Middle English versions it is variously called 'heuynes', 'anger', or 'drerynes'. Cf. *Jacob's Well*: '[Heuynes] makyth a man to be gretly greuyd wyth all that men don to hym, or seyn, yif it plese hym nogt' (ed. Arthur Brandeis, London, 1900, E.E.T.S.O.S. CXV, 112).

[46] See, as an example, Bromyard's *Summa praedicantium*.

spiritual failure, in contrast to a playful adaptation such as that in Gower's *Confessio amantis*;[47] meaningful (at least to modern minds), because the conventional concept is used in order to measure Petrarch's own experience and sentiment. That the old concept suffers transformation in the process is one more piece of evidence for the strength of Petrarch's individuality and his desire for self-expression.

University of North Carolina SIEGFRIED WENZEL

[47] The framework of the long collection of stories is furnished by the scheme of the seven sins transposed into the world of courtly love. Sloth, for example, means here negligence in *Frauendienst*, in wooing and dreaming of one's lady.

The Humanist as Scholar and Politian's Conception of the *Grammaticus*

At ego malim somnia Politiani, quam quae Scala sobrius, summoque studio elaboravit
(Erasmus)[1]

DESPITE many an earnest effort to preserve the Burckhardtian idea of the Renaissance in the course of a full century of historical research (1960 was the centennial year of Burckhardt's masterpiece), the picture of this cultural unit has undoubtedly been more sharply focused in detail, but it has also grown so much more vague in its general lines as to cause a certain amount of despair with regard to the possibility of defining this period in precise distinction from the middle ages. A global 'definition' of the period (as of any other period) has been proved to be impossible. The 'idea' of the age, the positive formulation of its spirit and essential characteristics must be the result of a view of the ensemble of its various elements, many of which, taken in isolation, can find sources and even relative parallels in preceding centuries.[2]

For one thing, the very question of the 'return to antiquity' has become more problematic than ever. Not to mention the growing support for the thesis that humanism as enthusiastic reliance on pre-Christian sources was not really born as a novelty in the Italian *Quattrocento* or even with Petrarch but in the French 'Renaissance' of the twelfth century, the continuity and vitality of the classical heritage in the middle ages have been restated with increasing emphasis. To give one example among many, Abélard's tragic destiny has been exploited for the surprising, complex, and dynamic individualism of the two great lovers' personality, both psychological and literary (Abélard's autobiography has been triumphantly compared by Gilson to that of Cellini). But more than this, and more technically, there is the fact that both Abé-

[1] Erasmus, *Ciceronianus* (Basle, Froben, 1528), p. 412.

[2] For a recent survey of contrasting trends in Renaissance historiography see H. Hornik, 'Three Interpretations of the French Renaissance', *Studies in the Renaissance* VII (1960), 43–66. Particularly important for an authoritative assessment: H. Baron, 'Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Renaissance* a Century after its Publication', *Ren. News* XIII (1960), 207–222.

lard's and Héloïse's careers were thoroughly dominated by their classical education. At the most dramatic moments of their troubled existence, and with the utmost sincerity, they drew inspiration from, and sought confirmation in quotations from, not only Augustine and Jerome but Ovid and, above all, Seneca. In the most crucial decision of her life, while she was running to the altar to receive the veil that would have sealed her definitive sacrifice, Héloïse uttered, by heart, a complex and quite fitting passage from Lucan's *Pharsalia*.

We shall, therefore, have to search for distinctive traits between middle ages and Renaissance (unless we prefer to give up the distinction altogether) within the classical tradition, as different modes of existence and use of this tradition, rather than in the opposition between an age *without* and an age *with* classicism. And this not only, as has been done, in the sense of discovering the aptitude of the medieval classicist to disguise the classical subject matter in the garb of modern, contemporaneous forms and events (for example, Greek heroes as knights), versus the Renaissance awakening of the awareness of the heterogeneity between times and cultures, but also, or especially, as a radical change in the reasons why ancient authorities were invoked.[3]

Whereas the medieval man, philosopher or philologist as he might be, sought in ancient wisdom either a confirmation of or an introduction to contemporary, medieval truths and values, the *grammaticus* of Politian's school is primarily and ultimately concerned with the discovery of a pluralistic world made of relative, distinct, equally valuable viewpoints, to be reverently and 'scientifically' reconstructed in their unique, time-bound integrity. We have a fundamental historicism replacing a fundamentally monistic view of the world that tended to reconcile differences and varieties. This is Politian's position, of course, not that of all the humanists. It was, for instance, not even shared by his Neoplatonic friends Ficino and Pico, and in fact it implied a tacit though forceful reaction to their efforts in an altogether different direction. This is the true root of Politian's hostility to the principle of imitation, Ciceronian or other, as well as his rejection of the canons of static models. For him history never does and never should repeat itself. Each event, form, or style should be itself, original, personal, authentic, though rich with all the heritage of the past, pagan or Christian, Greek or Roman or Byzantine or even medieval. He can make good use of

[3] For the medieval aptitude to disguise classical matter in modern garb, cf. H. Liebeschütz, *Medieval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury* (London, 1950).

Homer as well as Justinian, Albertus Magnus, or even contemporary folklore and popular songs. Such a systematically open-minded, unprejudiced, yet thoroughly critical 'eclecticism' (if we can use this term in a noble acceptation) had been basically alien to the medieval mind.

Politian's historicism is further revealed by the fact that he does not seek in his *auctores* the confirmation of his own beliefs and tastes or those of his time. His painstaking efforts in establishing the true *word* of the *auctor* and interpreting its precise meaning are justified by the very assumption that such words and meanings are different from ours, and that the temptation to establish cases of equivalence or identification is natural, but to be avoided. And yet, when properly approached, the *auctores* do speak a language of great consequence to us. For it is in them that we must search for the values to be adopted for our own behavior, rather than impose on them a preconceived set of notions and beliefs. To perform such an imposition, reason itself would have no better rights than custom. The rules of Politian's humanist are neither patterned after present usage nor abstractly fashioned *ex novo* under the guide of Reason or a rationalistic intuition of Nature, as Descartes and the French classicists will later do. To repeat Valla's maxim, 'Whatever pleased the great authors, I do consider a law' (*Elegantiae*). It is the splendid, rich patrimony of selected tradition (the 'great', the 'good' authors, not just any author) that conditions our civilized existence, not an arbitrary, even though rational, choice of our own.

This 'philosophy of philology' is perhaps the most genuine message of Renaissance humanism, a message to be found neither before, in the middle ages, not later, in the baroque or classicistic age. In this sense it is somewhat ambiguous to speak, without qualifications, of Renaissance rationalism.

Angelo Ambrogini (Montepulciano 1454–Florence 1494), known as Poliziano from the Latin name of his birthplace, Mons Politianus, is dear to the memory of Italians especially as a poet, the most refined and delicate lyricist of his century in the Italian vernacular.[4] But to cultural historians he is just as important for other achievements in which he himself took more pride, and in which his contemporaries

[4] For bibliographical surveys of Politian studies, cf. Bruno Maier, 'Angelo Poliziano' in W. Binni, *I Classici italiani nella storia della critica* (Florence, 1954), I, 232–256; *idem*, 'La critica polizianesca nel Novecento', *La Rassegna della Lett. It.* LVIII (1954), 377–390; *idem*, 'Angelo Poliziano' in *Letteratura Italiana. I Maggiori* (Milan, 1956), I, 254–305.

best recognized his greatness; that is, beside his excellence as a Latin and Greek poet, his scholarship as a philologist and a teacher ('lettore') in the Florentine *studio* from 1480 to 1494.[5] With him humanism reached its maturity and philology, as the technical manifestation of humanism, produced its most fertile and sophisticated results.

It is my purpose here to analyze Politian's scholarly rôle on the limited basis of his conception of the humanist scholar as a *grammaticus*, rather than in general—a task, incidentally, for which we are still awaiting a critical, annotated edition of most of his Latin writings.[6]

It is known that, since the establishment of the humanistic schools in Italy (such as Vittorino da Feltre's *Giocosa* in Mantua and Guarino Veronese's court school in Ferrara, both active by 1430), a course in 'grammar' actually meant something rather remote from our use of the term.[7] Formal, normative study of grammatical structures abstractly considered was made impossible by the very absence of manuals before Valla codified Latin forms in a rigorous, though far from 'normative', manner, in his *Elegantiae* (1444—no scholastic textbook, to be sure). Even Valla felt no tenderness toward 'rules'. Guarino's *Regulae* and Gaza's Greek grammar were, quite typically, an abridgement and radical simplification of the grammars prevailing in the middle ages (such as the *Doctrinale*, the *Graecismus*, the *Janua*), in order to reduce that part of the student's work to a minimum, and to introduce him as soon as possible to the living heart of instruction: the familiarization with the *auctores* and their authentic texts. A lesson in grammar resulted in the critical reading, *explication de texte*, of any good author available, from Plato or Aristotle to Homer or Herodotus, from the *Gospels* or Augustine to Varro or Cicero or Horace.

This is what Politian was doing in the classroom of the *studio*. Gradually shifting from poetry toward logic, he 'read' over the years, among the several recorded authors: Quintilian, Statius, Ovid, Virgil, Hesiod, Horace, Persius, Homer, Juvenal, Suetonius, Aristotle.[8]

[5] After the crisis of the Pazzi conspiracy he left Florence (Dec. 1479) to return in Aug. 1480. He then began his official teaching. Indicative of the high consideration he enjoyed at the *studio* is the stipend of 250 florins he received in 1485, at the age of 31. In the same year D. Chalcondylas received 200 fl., C. Landino 300. Cf. G. Prezziner, *Storia del publico Studio . . . di Firenze* (Florence, 1810), I, 163, quoted by C. Trinkaus, 'A Humanist's Image . . . B. della Fonte', *Studies in the Renaissance* VII (1960), 91.

[6] Professor A. Perosa's critical, annotated edition of the *Miscellanea* is forthcoming.

[7] Cf. R. Sabbadini, *Il Metodo degli umanisti* (Florence, 1920), chapters I–IV; E. Garin, *L'Educazione in Europa (1400–1600)* (Bari, 1957), *passim*.

[8] Cf. I. Del Lungo, *Florentia* (Florence, 1897), pp. 175–183, and Poliziano, *Le Selve e la*

His method of teaching could run through the whole range of exegesis, from mere grammatical analysis to aesthetic criticism. We can find an example of what his actual teaching must have been in notes for the introductory lecture and the first lectures of a course on the *Odyssey* as recorded by Politian's own hand, and luckily preserved in fols. 52–119^{v} of Parisinus Graecus 3069, partly published by Dorez, who attributed these notes to 1489.[9]

The notes begin with a brief *aperçu* of Homer's fame and popularity, followed by two dense pages of 'aesthetic criticism' based on Aristotle's principle of unity of the plot ('Lex esse poetis debet, quemadmodum testatur Aristoteles, ut una sit apud illos in quovis opere fabula, non multae'). This reference to *Poetics* 8 is very interesting, as it comes nine years before Giorgio Valla's Latin translation (Venice, 1498—heretofore the *Poetics* had been known only in translations of Averroes' Arabic paraphrasis and in a Latin translation with limited circulation), almost twenty years before Aldus published the Greek text (1508), and more than half a century before the *Poetics* started to be systematically used in theory and criticism and the doctrine of the unities was developed (Robortello's edition appeared in 1548).[10]

Strega, ed. Del Lungo (Florence, 1925), pp. 232 f. It is to be underlined that Politian read various works of Aristotle in each of his last four academic years.

[9] Léon Dorez, 'L'Hellénisme d'Ange Politien', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* XV (1895), 3–32. The excerpts from the lectures on the *Odyssey* are on pp. 24–31.

[10] On the medieval tradition of the text, including the Arabic version and especially the newly discovered Latin translation of the *Poetics* (extant in two MSS), cf. P. O. Kristeller's bibliographical note in *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome, 1956), p. 340 (12). A critical ed. of the Latin tr. is in *De arte poetica*, ed. E. Valgimigli (Bruges-Paris, 1953, *Aristoteles Latinus* XXXIII).

The passages here and below quoted from Politian and referred to the original *Poetics* correspond to p. 248, 8.4; 247, 8.2; 268–269, 23 of the ed. by I. Bekker (Aristotelis *Opera*, Oxford, 1837, XI). R. Sabbadini, in *Il Metodo degli umanisti*, pp. 73–74, indicated the MS of the Greek *Poetics* possessed by Politian (Laurenziano Pluteo Gr. 60, 14) and added: 'Il primo in quel secolo a possedere la *Poetica* in greco fu il Poliziano'. But further on: 'Ma le sue due prelezioni omeriche, sia la prosastica sia la poetica (*Ambra*) del 1486 . . . non recano nessuna traccia della *Poetica*'.

Cf. J. E. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (2d ed. rev., N. Y., 1930), pp. 16–19, 89 f., 108–111, and A. Fusco's tr., *La Critica lett. nel Rin.* (Bari, 1905), pp. 20–23, 89 f., 106–109. Spingarn did not mention Politian on this issue. Elsewhere he stated: 'Nowhere does Poliziano exhibit any appreciation of the aesthetic value of poetry . . .' (p. 14), but this MS, among other things, was not known to Spingarn. (The eminent scholar, however, considered Politian the most complete personification of humanism: cf. p. 18).

On Politian as a critic cf. also C. Trabalza, *La Critica letteraria* (Milan, 1915), II, 41–45. Trabalza draws two very pertinent conclusions: first, that Politian definitively brought

Politian goes on to elaborate at length on this passage of the *Poetics* as applied to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, after having quoted Aristotle's censure of the *Heracleid* and the *Theseid*: 'Quapropter qui vel Herculeiam vel Theseida scripsere poetae, magnopere scilicet peccarunt' (*Poetics* 8; cf. *Poetics* 23 for the remainder of Poliziano's discussion, which is basically a paraphrasis of Aristotle). Then follows the more analytical part of the course, as reflected in these notes: i.e. a lengthy grammatical commentary on the first two cantos of the *Odyssey*, word by word. The first word alone takes up three dense pages. More than morphology, the vocabulary is the object of the great scholar's minute, immensely erudite investigation. The first word was ἀνήρ; after having given all the possible meanings and uses of the term with examples, Politian identifies the precise value and denotation of the word at hand —in this case, 'man', merely and generically designating the nature of the being. Then he illustrates the acceptation comparatively, by referring to Latin *homo* vs. *vir* and Hebrew *adam* vs. *isc*' ('ais', pronounced ĭsh). And so on, with an overwhelming wealth of quotations from authors and classical scholars. One unusual element in this comparative procedure deserves particular attention, the use of Hebrew. We can surmise that Politian's philological interest for the language of the Bible was spurred by his relationship with his great friend, Pico, who had just returned to Florence (1488) from his imprisonment in France. Hebrew scholarship, later a trademark of northern European humanism, became relatively frequent only in the following century. Pico was really a great precursor in this field, but he was chiefly a philosopher (and his relationships with the pure *literati* were rather uneasy, witness the epistolary exchange with Ermolao Barbaro on the subject of the *barbari*, the medieval schoolmen). Among the humanists, Politian could somehow boast of a chronological priority in introducing Hebrew, even though accidentally and infrequently, into classical philology.

In *Miscellanea* 14 Pico's guidance into the secrets of Hebrew scholarship is explicitly acknowledged.[11] Here Politian undertook to explain

---

philology to complete autonomy ('dando alla filologia un suo proprio fine'), second, that his criticism was not what we want criticism to be today, i.e. a rational, 'logical' analysis of aesthetic values, but a vivid expression of a deep feeling for the work of art, whereby the audience was lifted to the level of poetry through a new work of art modeled on the former, the object of study—in other words, a sort of lyrical impressionism, as we might put it.

[11] 'Sed et illud observavi nuper apud Danielem prophetam, ducente me scilicet in recessus illos et sacra studiorum suorum penetralia Ioanne Pico Mirandula' (Basle ed., 1553,

Ovid's *naulia* (*Ars am.* III, 327, *nablia* in modern reading) by correctly establishing a direct etymological descendance from Hebrew *nevel* (or *nebel*) (=Chaldaeum, 'Chaldee', *i.e.* Aramaic *psanter* 'psalterium', a form he had found in Daniel), to Greek *ναῦλον* (or *νάβλα*) and Latin *naulum* and *nablum*, from which the diminutive *naulion* (pl. *naulia*) or *nablium* 'organum musicum', or rather, as usually interpreted today, a sort of Phoenician harp with ten or twelve strings.[12] Politian had therefore also perceived the linguistic progression from *u* to *b* (and Hebrew *v* to Latin *b*), which had enabled him to establish a sound historical connection of etymons illustrated with a wealth of quotations from Hebrew, Greek, and Latin authors and scholars.[13]

In *Miscellanea* 83 he attempted an interpretation of the first verse of

---

p. 238). Further on, a precise aim is set for Pico's studies in this field: '. . . ut idem et comperit et ostendit Ioannes Picus Mirandula meus, unus omnium prorsus ab omni parte beatissimus, in opere singulari atque admirando, quo psalmos a septuaginta versos isto notarum praecipue argumento [the question of the written and unwritten parts of the Hebrew alphabet] docet Hebraicae veritati respondere, ne iam insultare Iudaeus, aut obiicere possit, ea nos in templo singulis canere horis, quae ne ipsi quidem satis versa fideliter existimemus.' In brief, an apologia in favor of the vulgate texts, a conciliation of ancient and modern tradition, an establishment of 'concordia'.

[12] 'Harp' rather than 'organ' was already the commentator Kohlbürger's interpretation of *naula* used by Politian in his 'sylva' *Nutricia* v. 172. Kohlbürger ('Brassicanus', 16th century) had used other authors than Politian's: cf. *Le Selve e la Strega*, ed. by I. Del Lungo (Florence, 1925), p. 126.

[13] The importance of this passage had already been realized by Luigi Ruberto, 'Studi sul Poliziano filologo', *Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione classica* XII (1884), 212–260, cf. pp. 221 and 231–232. Ruberto is, to my knowledge, the only student who has touched, though succinctly, upon Politian's use of Hebrew for philological purposes. For Ruberto *Misc.* 83 is 'clear' proof that Politian had read the Bible in Hebrew. I may add that *Misc.* 14 also proves that he could master Aramaic. An apparent *lapsus* on closer examination turns out to confirm Politian's philological accuracy: in the list of Aramaic terms for musical instruments which he professes to have found in the prophet Daniel under Pico's guidance, every noun is given in the singular and followed by the Latin equivalent also in the singular, except one case, where an Aramaic plural word is given (*psanterin*, repeated below) with the singular equivalent (*psalterium*). But it turns out that only the plural occurs in Daniel's text, and not the sing. *psanter*. Politian certainly was in contact with Hebrew scholars other than Pico, witness the mention of 'Gallus Solomon' in the same passage. I am thankful to Prof. G. M. Schramm of the University of California for his elucidations of some points pertaining to Semitic philology. To Prof. Kristeller I owe, among other valuable suggestions, the indication of U. Cassuto's monograph *Gli Ebrei a Firenze nell'età del Rinascimento* (Florence, 1918). On p. 281 (especially n. 6) Politian's use of direct Hebrew sources is acknowledged, and certain sources are further identified. On Hebrew scholarship in Florence in the *Quattrocento*, cf. ch. 3, pp. 273–326. The only Hebrew scholar of importance among Florentine humanists before Politian's time was Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459), who translated the *Psalms* and wrote a defense in five books of this translation. Ficino's knowledge of Hebrew was very superficial.

Psalm lxiv by relating the Jewish conception of God to possible Egyptian influences in a true spirit of comparative history of religions, a discipline yet unborn in the fifteenth century. He did so with a boldness quite unusual for the time, and somewhat foreshadowing Erasmus's revolutionary approach. *Miscellanea* 83 concerned itself with the nature of the god Harpocrates (Ἁρποκράτης), interpreted as the genius of silence imported from Egypt to Rome, and usually portrayed as holding a finger before his mouth: hence the expression *aliquem reddere Harpocratem* (Catullus 74, 4 'patruum reddidit Harpocratem', explained by Politian as 'patruum coepit irrumare (atque) tacere coegit').[14] From this identification Politian went parenthetically on to postulate a new interpretation of Psalm lxiv (Jerome's Vulgate), first line, as signifying the concept—of Egyptian derivation—that the supreme god must be worshiped in silence: 'Quare Harpocratem, puto, Aegyptii suis adhibebant sacris, qui silentio colendum ostenderet summum deorum'. The line 'Lecha dumia theilla elohim bezion' (Politian's transliteration of the verse correctly reported by him in the original Semitic alphabet) would then mean: 'Silence is the proper form to worship you in Zion, O Lord' ('Id latine significat: Tibi silentium laus, Deus, in Sion'). Thus Politian intends to correct the Septuagint's 'Te decet hymnus in Sion' ('Quod aliter tamen interpretes septuaginta verterunt, hoc est' etc.). This argument, though ultimately incorrect, is quite interesting, and denotes a certain familiarity with the language, since *dumia* can mean both 'silence' and 'is meet, convenient, befitting' (Σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος in the Septuagint), although all current interpretations of that verse have adopted the latter.[15]

Even earlier, in 1485–1486, in commenting v. 97 of Juvenal's Satire XIV Politian had given a most interesting 'psychological' interpretation of the Christian cult of images. This comment was paraphrased by his student Bartholomeus Galathanus as follows: 'Romani assueti simulacris suis frivolam existimabant eorum fidem qui nulla simulacra habebant, credentes eos adorare nubes, cum omnium rerum creatorem adorarent, nullo erecto simulacro, quod et nostri canones etiam in

[14] Harpoc(h)rates was Hor-the-child, a form of the solar divinity Horus (son of Isis), and was represented with a finger on his mouth as a symbol of childhood. By a misunderstanding of this figurative detail the Greeks and Romans made him the god of silence (Ovid, *Met.* IX, 691).

[15] The King James version (where the psalm is numbered 65, as in the Hebrew editions) applied a slightly different acceptation, which is also found in the text of the Jewish Publication Society: 'Praise waiteth for thee, o Lord, in Zion.'

Decretis prohibent, nolunt enim pro Deo ipsa simulacra adorari. Sed quoniam mulierculae quae gentilibus simulacris assuetae erant, non facile credidissent simulacris amotis, ideo factum est ut nostra quoque religio simulacra haberet.'[16]

We can follow Politian's method over the years by examining notes taken either for or from his lectures, by himself or his students respectively.

Ms. Magliabechiano VII, 973 contains a partial commentary to Statius' *Sylvae* in autograph notes for the course of 1480–1481. Politian begins with an ample biographical note, proceeds to explain the title (that is, the genre implicitly), then the tradition of the text (with Poggio's discovery).[17]

Ms. Pluteo XXXII, 46, cc. 1–74 at the Biblioteca Laurenziana offers, in turn, an *Expositio Theocriti* probably of the year 1482–1483. 'Aside from a certain outmoded diffuseness in fine points of grammar . . . Politian combined the elementary notions of grammar and syntax, exegesis and criticism of the text, and comparisons with other authors, in the manner of many teachers of our day.' 'The author withheld the best of his critical capabilities from this sort of commentary; above all, he showed off his erudition.'[18] The notes first have a biographical section, then cover the main questions of Theocritus' dialect, the judgments of ancient critics, finally the *expositio* of the idylls, divided into a summary of contents, reading, grammatical commentary, exegesis. The commentary, part of which is also found in Pluteo XXXII, 43, corresponds to that of Par. Gr. 3069 on the *Odyssey*, as Garin acknowledged.

On the other hand, in the course on Juvenal in the manuscript of Ravenna, Classense 237, Kristeller finds 'a full and individual commentary which reflects Politian's scholarly interests and methods . . .'.[19] To me these notes, presumably taken from lectures delivered in 1485–1486,

[16] Cf. the 15th-century MS. 237 of the Bibl. Classense, Ravenna. Fols. 111–218^{v} contain the notes from Politian's lectures on Juvenal, and are described in *Mostra del Poliziano, Catalogo* a cura di A. Perosa (Florence, 1955), 35–36, and with excerpts in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum* (Washington, 1960), I, 224–226.

[17] Cf., for a description of the MS, *Mostra del Poliziano*, pp. 16–17. In this precious catalogue are described several more MSS and printed editions which can further substantiate our analysis.

[18] Cf. F. Garin, 'La "Expositio Theocriti" di Angelo Poliziano nello Studio Fiorentino (1482–83?)', *Rivista di Filologia Classica* XLII (1914), 275–282. I translate these passages from pp. 277 and 282. Garin concluded the second statement by admitting the expediency of such a method at its time.

[19] Cf. *Catalogus translationum*, p. 224.

seem very close to the method that was made famous by the *Miscellanea*, completed three years later, and consequently show the basic identity of Politian's method as a teacher and as a scholar.

Mss. Misc. Lat. 748, 754, 756, 807 of the Munich Staatsbibliothek, superficially studied by C. Di Pierro, contain, among a mass of precious bibliographical information, many autograph preparatory notes for academic lectures, taken during a trip to Venice in 1491 and in earlier years.[20] To these R. Sabbadini advised to add autograph Lat. 766 and, recently, A. Perosa added Lat. 755 and Gr. 182, all of the same library.[21] Di Pierro transcribed from MS. 754 an interesting passage on comedy, with definitions and historical survey of the genre (pp. 28–29), and another passage offering an example of explication of text (*enarratio*) according to what I shall later identify as 'the broad Alexandrian method', that of Eratosthenes' πολυμαθής (pp. 30–32).[22]

A different, little-known aspect of Politian's method as a commentator of texts, and one which will possibly throw additional light on his one-time teaching methods, is shown by a manuscript note which long remained unnoticed until it was recently published by Ida Maïer.[23] With reference to Politian's academic exegesis of Homer as evidenced by the 'sylva' *Ambra* and the two *Praelectiones in expositione Homeri*, Miss Maïer cites the prologue of *Gargantua* as proof of the success of Janus Lascaris's charge of plagiarism inasmuch as Politian had relied heavily on the pseudo-Plutarch's pamphlet on Homer. But another aspect of the same prologue interests us here, the evidence of the widespread notion that Politian's approach was characterized by allegorism. 'Croiez vous en vostre foy qu'onques Homère, escrivent l'Iliade et Odysée, pensast es allegories lesquelles de luy ont calfreté Plutarque, Héraclite Ponticq, Eustatie, Pharnute, et ce que d'iceulx Politien a desrobé?' It is therefore of some interest to notice that the 'allegories' here indicated are no-

[20] Cf. 'Zibaldoni autografi di A. P. inediti e sconosciuti nella R. Bibl. di Monaco', *Giornale St. della Lett. It.* LV (1910), 1–32. R. Sabbadini (under the pseudonym B. de Braminis, *ibid.*, pp. 454–455) corrected some of Di Pierro's readings of these difficult and damaged MSS.

[21] All these MSS are now described in *Mostra del Poliziano*, respectively at the numbers 59 (MS. 807), 62 (766), 79–83 (182, 748, 754, 755, 756), where each section is accurately identified and dated.

[22] Cf. G. Pesenti, 'Diario odeporico-bibliografico inedito del Poliziano', *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo di Sc. e Lett.*, Cl. di Lett. etc., ser. III, XIV (1916), 229–239; Pesenti re-examined parts of the MSS touched upon by Di Pierro.

[23] 'Une page inédite de Politien: La note du Vat. Lat. 3617 sur Démétrius Triclinius commentateur d'Homère', *Bibl. d'Hum. et Ren.* XVI (1954), 7–17.

where as evident as in the juvenile note in question (1475 or shortly before).[24] There Politian summarized with approval the content of a lost and to us entirely unknown pamphlet of Demetrius Triclinius on the first five lines of *Iliad* IV, as well as the concurrent references to the same lines in Proclus's commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*.[25] Those who deny the allegory in Homer, i.e. a deeper meaning hidden behind the letter, are summarily qualified by Politian, following Proclus, as plainly incompetent.[26] Miss Maïer cites J. Seznec's classification of the three traditions in mythological interpretation—the historical, the physical, and the moral (or allegorical)—and points out that, at variance with Seznec's identification of Politian as 'un savant "allégoriseur" surtout en matière de mythologie homérique', the note on Triclinius indicates a physical interpretation in addition to a moral one. At any rate, Politian supports a cosmological interpretation of the Homeric myths, whereby the gods in their behavior are 'figures' of the celestial bodies and their movements, light and life.

We have thus seen, on the basis of little-known texts, several aspects of Politian's method as a philologist-teacher, a method which developed through a wide range and many possibilities. It is interesting to notice that, whereas aesthetic and allegorical commentaries are rare in Politian's career and rather typical of his formative years than of his maturity, some at least of his contemporaries remained impressed by such aspects of his scholarship and naturally tended to associate him with them even as Rabelais had done in his prologue. But the interpretive method that was more deeply rooted in Politian in his mature years is what we can call the 'pedagogical' interpretation of literature, that which repeatedly prompted him to reveal, for instance in Homer, the treasury of hidden learning from whose inexhaustible spring all following ages would derive an unparalleled wealth of theological, philosophical, ethical, and scientific teaching.[27] However, the best informed of Politian's contemporaries acclaimed him, and rightly so, for strictly philological achievements manifesting themselves in the investigation of

[24] E. Bigi denies a true interest of Politian in allegorical interpretation: cf. 'Il Poliziano critico', cited below, p. 367.

[25] Demetrius was a Byzantine philologist of the beginning of the 14th century.

[26] '[Proclus] redarguit eorum imperitiam, qui negant Homerum aliud omnino quicquam intra sinum condidisse, preter [sic] ea quae prima fronte ostentat' (Vat. Lat. 3617, fol. 2^{v}).

[27] This aspect of Politian's criticism is analyzed by E. Bigi in the two articles cited below.

the most literal part of literary productions, in a lofty remoteness from any concern with secondary meaning, allegorical, moral, or other. It will, therefore, be our task to explore what can be viewed as the central and definitive feature of Politian's so dynamically varied exegesis. For all we know of Politian's teaching, it must have been an application and extension of his scholarship: for this latter at its best we have no more appropriate term than 'philology', a term significant and clear enough when we only bear in mind its now current use as humanism's most typical and technical manifestation.[28]

Politian himself gives us an incidental definition of *humanitas* as παιδεία as well as φιλανθρωπία (*Ep.* III, 11 to Lucio Fosforo, bishop of Segni, ed. Basle, p. 35: 'Humanitatem cum dico, non magis φιλανθρωπίαν quam etiam παιδείαν intellego: utrumque enim latine quidem scientibus significat').[29] He had thus distinguished between what we could call a *charitas humana* (the strong point of Erasmus's humanism) and a *civilis cultura*, understood as integrating each other, although he obviously stressed the latter and actually implemented it more in the technical direction of learning, *sapientia* coupled with elegance of form, *eloquentia*, than in the more worldly direction of the disciplines contributing to the formation of the gentleman-citizen (the strong point of earlier, 'civic' *Quattrocento* humanism).

The field of action for Politian's 'eloquens sapientia' is the broadest in

[28] The place and rôle of Politian in the history of philology has been summarily but competently assessed by Gino Funaioli, 'Lineamenti d'una storia della filologia attraverso i secoli', in *Studi di letteratura antica* (Bologna, 1946), I, 185–356. Ruberto's article is, despite its age, a praiseworthy and extensive analysis of the *Epistolae* and *Miscellanea*. Sabbadini's studies are quoted elsewhere. Among recent studies, cf. M. Serafini, 'Come lavorava il Poliziano', *Giorn. Ital. di Filologia* III (1950), 337–346; E. Bigi, 'La cultura del Poliziano', *Belfagor* IX (1954), 633–653; *idem*, 'Il Poliziano critico', *La Rass. della Lett. It.* LVIII (1954), 367–376; and in the centennial volume *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo* (Florence, 1957), see E. Garin, 'L'ambiente del Poliziano', pp. 17–39 (reprinted from *R.L.I.*, LVIII [1954], 349–366, where it was entitled 'Filologia e poesia in Angelo Poliziano'), and A. Mancini, 'Il Poliziano filologo', beside other important contributions on more specific aspects of Politian's philological activities. For the historical meaning of the humanists' 'philology', see especially E. Garin, *L'Umanesimo italiano* (Bari, 1952), pp. 7–15, 23–26, 73, and *Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Bari, 1954), pp. 106–107, 318–320. For an assessment of the 'philological' view of literature within the framework of the historical development of humanism, see Spingarn, *op. cit.*, whose conclusions on the matter appear on pp. 311–313 of the 2d English ed. For further studies of particular aspects of Politian's scholarship, cf. the 'supplemento bibliografico' in V. Rossi, *Il Quattrocento* (Milan, 1956).

[29] Ruberto, p. 247, had noted the derivation of this passage from A. Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, XIII, 16, and recalled Zumbini's attribution of 'philanthropia' to English humanism (*Saggi critici*, 125).

breadth and depth: horizontally, he masters every language and literature that his contemporaries deemed to be part of living culture; vertically he believes—and proves—that every layer of reality is relevant to the understanding and evaluation of cultural documents. For him the true man of culture, and especially the philologist, must be a master of (to speak with Plutarch) ἐγκύκλια 'doctrinae illum orbem . . . quem vocamus encyclia', the complete course of all disciplines systematically harmonized.[30] The mark was set very high indeed, but one dare say that he reached it, and made his food of all philosophy, literature, medicine, law, history.[31] Francesco Pucci will write to him from Naples praising his *Miscellanea* as an ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία, an encyclopedia of knowledge (*Ep.* VI, 4, ed. Basle, p. 77). But for the type of scholar he wants to be, rather than the term *philologus* Politian cherishes that of *grammaticus*. In a passage of the 'sylva' *Lamia* ('Praelectio in *Priora* Aristotelis *Analitica*', 1492–1493, the wittiest and most inspired of his learned prolusions), Politian begins by professing to be a *grammaticus* rather than *philosophus*.[32]

Ego me Aristotelis profiteor interpretem . . . philosophum non profiteor. . . . Nec apud nos Donatus, puta, et Servius, apud Graecos Aristarchus et Zenodotus, continuo se poetas profitentur, quoniam quidem poetas interpretentur. An non Philoponus ille, Ammonii discipulus Simpliciique condiscipulus, idoneus Aristotelis est interpres? At eum nemo philosophum vocat, omnes grammaticum. Quid non grammaticus etiam cous ille Xenocritus, et rhodii duo Aristocles atque Aristeas, et alexandrini item duo Antigonus ac Didymus, et omnium celeberrimus idem ille Aristarchus? Qui tamen omnes

[30] Cf. *Miscellanea* 4 (Basle ed., p. 229).

[31] The notion that the background of the poet's activity must be constituted by a harmonious and well-integrated body of encyclopedic learning was by then traditional in humanism. Cf., for an early example, Boccaccio, *Genealogiae*, XIV, 7: 'Hinc et liberalium aliarum artium et moralium atque naturalium saltem novisse principia necesse est; nec non et vocabulorum valere copia, vidisse monimenta maiorum, ac etiam meminisse et hystorias nationum, et regionum orbis, marium, fluviorum et montium dispositiones.' Politian systematized this view, and logically extended it to include the literary scholar. The term ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία was already referred to Vittorino: cf. B. Platina, *Victorini Feltrensis vita* in Vairani, *Cremonensium monumenta Romae extantia* (Rome, 1778): 'Laudabat illam quam Graeci ἐγκυκλοπαιδείαν vocant . . . asserens perfectum virum de natura, de moribus, de motu astrorum, de linearibus formis, de harmonia . . . disserere pro tempore et utilitate hominum oportere.' But whereas Vittorino was aiming at the 'perfect man', Politian wants to form the perfect scholar.

[32] For a succinct note on part of this passage, see Garin, 'L'ambiente del Poliziano', pp. 32–33. The qualification was far from unusual, and Politian himself was so qualified by Sannazzaro in a venomous epigram where he was said to be the only flea devoted to 'grammar': 'Ait nescio quis Pulicianus | ni pulex mage sit vocandus hic, qui | unus grammaticus, sed his minutis | vel longe inferior, minutiorque est etc.' Cf. B. Croce, *Conversazioni Critiche*, serie V (1951²), p. 9.

(ut Erotianus est auctor) Hippocratis interpretati sunt libros; sicuti alii quoque quos Galenus enumerat; nec eos tamen quisquam medicos esse ob id putat. Grammaticorum enim sunt hae[33] partes, ut omne scriptorum genus, poetas, historicos, oratores, philosophos, medicos, iureconsultos excutiant atque enarrent. Nostra aetas, parum perita rerum veterum, nimis brevi gyro grammaticum sepsit; at apud antiquos olim tantum auctoritatis hic ordo habuit, ut censores essent et iudices scriptorum omnium soli grammatici, quos ob id etiam criticos vocabant, sic ut non versus modo (ita enim Quintilianus ait) censoria quadam virgula notare, sed libros etiam qui falso viderentur inscripti, tanquam subdititios[34], submovere familia permiserint sibi; quin auctores etiam quos vellent aut in ordinem redigerent, aut omnino eximerent numero. Nec enim aliud grammaticus graece, quam latine literatus[35]: nos autem nomen hoc in ludum trivialem detrusimus, tanquam in pistrinum. Itaque iure conqueri nunc literati possent et animo angi . . . indignari literati possunt quod grammatici nunc appellentur etiam qui prima doceant elementa. Caeterum apud graecos hoc genus non grammatici sed grammatistae, non literati sed literatores vocabantur. . . . Commentarios tamen iamdiu (quod sine arrogantia dictum videri velim) simul in ius ipsum civile simul in medicinae auctores parturio, et quidem multis vigiliis; nec aliud inde mihi nomen postulo quam grammatici.[36]

In substance, by making appeal to classical terminology, which used γραμματική and *grammatica* rather than the rare *philologia*, Politian professes to be a *grammaticus* in the noblest and broadest sense in which we now apply the very term 'philologist' to the humanists. *Grammaticus* (or *literatus*, Politian's spelling for the more common *litteratus*) is the scholar who interprets, i.e. studies and comments on texts—any text, from philosophy to poetry, historiography, oratory, science. It will not be amiss to notice at this point Politian's definitive settling, at the end of his career, on a terminology of which he had already shown a particular, partial application in the note on Demetrius Triclinius, at the onset of his studies. There he had called 'philosopher' a scholar whose reputation as a *grammaticus* was well established (Maïer, pp. 10–11), and whose work

[33] I use Del Lungo's text, *Le Selve e la Strega* (Florence, 1925), pp. 220–222, but I correct a few readings on the basis of my collation with the Aldine (1498) and Basle (1553) editions. Here Del Lungo misprints *haec* against A and B.

[34] A. *subditicios*.

[35] Here and below Del Lungo writes *litteratus*, *litterator*, against both A and B.

[36] For the importance of Politian's studies on legal literature, cf. A. M. Bandini, *Ragionamento istorico sopra le collazioni delle fiorentine Pandette, fatte da Angelo Poliziano* (Leghorn, 1762); L. Sighinolfi, 'Angelo Poliziano, L. Bolognini e le Pandette fiorentine', *Studi e memorie dell'Un. di Bologna* VI, 1921; *idem*, 'Il Poliziano e il Carteromaco dai mss. di L. Bolognini', *La Bibliofilia* XXIV (1922), 165–202. For his medical studies cf. Juliana Cotton Hill, 'Death and Politian', *Durham Univ. Jour.* XLVI (1954), 96–105, and 'Materia medica del Poliziano', in *Poliziano e il suo tempo* (Florence, 1957), 237–245.

under examination apparently did not fall *de rigueur* within the class of activities by Politian designated here, in the *Lamia*, as 'grammatical', as will later become clearer. But let us proceed. The first two Greek examples he gives of *grammatici*, the Alexandrine librarians Zenodotus of Ephesus and Aristarchus of Samothrace, are an excellent choice inasmuch as these two masters respectively mark the beginning and the end of the golden age of Alexandrine philology, from the early third century to the middle of the second B.C.[37] The names which follow may broaden our notion of Politian's models—like the mention of Didymus Chalcenterus also of Alexandria (*fl.* 2d half of the 1st century B.C.).

Finally we come to the crucial point of this whole passage: 'Our age, unfamiliar as it is with things ancient, has confined the "grammarian" to much too narrow a sphere, whereas this scholarly order once had such prestige by the ancients that the "grammarians" were held as sole lawful judges of writers of all kind, hence also called "critics" (κριτικός= judge). Thus they took it upon themselves not only to mark corrupt verses (as Quintilian states), but also to exclude from the family of legitimate books the ones which looked apocryphal; they even catalogued authors in their order of value and importance, or banished them altogether.' At the outset of this paragraph we find the realization of a historic break in the classical tradition. In the middle ages *grammatica* decayed to the elementary, classifying, and normative discipline taught in schools as part of the *trivium*, and even to Politian's own time remained confined there as a slave punished at the mill ('nomen hoc in ludum trivialem detrusimus, tanquam in pistrinum'). This was partly the result of the formation of 'grammar' (in the modern acceptation) as an independent discipline in the second century A.D., and only later separated from the living, creative exercise of literary study in whose function it had been created; and it was also partly the result of the shrinking and decaying of literary study in the course of the dark ages. Besides, medieval culture had suffered from the influence of philosophers and moralists who were potentially hostile to the worldliness of knowledge for its own sake, or who tended to disfranchise the pure beauties of literature in order to extol speculation upon ultimate truths or the practice of

[37] On this and some of the following historical notes cf. Funaioli, 'Lineamenti'. It is interesting to find an appropriate rapprochement of Politian to Aristarchus in the judgment of a contemporary; cf. Marco Antonio Coccio Sabellico (1436–1506) in a letter to M. A. Danieli Raineri (*Ep.* x, 17 in *Opera*, Basle, 1560, III, co. 450): 'cui [Pol.] si longior vita contigisset, tam gravis fuisset romanae linguae censor, quam graecae fuit Aristarchus.' Cited in Del Lungo, *Florentia*, p. 272.

austere virtues. Thus Seneca, for instance, had given his own views on the comparative values of *philosophia*, *philologia*, and *grammatica*, only to reach the conclusion that the latter two were very close to frivolous vanities. In the *Epistola ad Lucilium* 108 he showed the difference between the methods by the threefold analysis of exemplary cases such as Virgil's 'fugit inreparabile tempus' and Cicero's *De re publica*. The philosopher will seek in poetry the perfect statement of a truth or a useful moral maxim which by virtue of its stylistic beauty will fire his imagination and spur him on to action. Similarly, he will keep his attention fastened on the true substance of a literary prose treatise like the *De re publica*, and will marvel at the things that have been uttered against justice ('Philosophus admiratur contra iustitiam dici tam multa potuisse'). The philologist, instead—and by philology Seneca means historical criticism—will stop to notice such extrinsic gossip and antiquarians' curiosities as that there have been two kings of Rome, the one of whom had no father, the other no mother, *et similia*.[38] The grammarian's concern is just as irrelevant or more: he will rejoice in his heart of hearts at the innocuous discovery that Cicero says *reapse* for *re ipsa*, and even *sese* for *se ipse*, or that his *calx* is what is now called *creta*, the goal in the circus.[39] In conclusion, the transition from philosophy to philology is not a simple shift of emphasis and viewpoints, each legitimate and relevant in its own realm; it is a decadence from the love of wisdom to infatuation with form. And it is the sign of the badness of our time that the latter has replaced the former: 'Itaque quae philosophia fuit, facta philologia est'. This is both the fault of the teachers, whose aim is to teach how to argue well and successfully, not how to live happily, and of the pupils, who want to cultivate their minds only, not their souls ('docent disputare, non vivere . . . non animum excolendi, sed ingenium').[40]

This is, implicitly, the background of Politian's charge that his own age has all but lost track of some of the sublime manifestations of ancient culture. In particular, he advocates a return to the original distinction

[38] 'Cum ad hanc eandem lectionem philologus accessit, hoc subnotat: duos Romanos reges esse, quorum alter patrem non habet, alter matrem . . .'.

[39] 'Eosdem libros cum grammaticus explicuit, primum verba expressa, reapse dici a Cicerone, id est res ipsa, in commentarium refert, nec minus sese, id est se ipse', etc.

[40] It will not be out of place to remember that Boccaccio's famous defense of poetry in the 14th book of his *Genealogiae* was ultimately an undisguised polemic against the philosophers' attempt to deny any validity to literature and literary scholarship as distinct from philosophy. In this sense Boccaccio and Petrarch opened, more with their systematic emphasis upon such an attitude than with the novelty of their arguments taken singly, a movement of which Politian represents the most mature technical development.

between the elementary teacher of grammar, *grammatista*, and the well-rounded intellectual-scholar, *grammaticus*.[41] But the equivalence *grammatici* = *critici* deserves close attention. Actually the two terms were not quite synonymous, as the former was bound to evoke the notion of the sober, factual, positive method of Alexandria, whereas the latter was tied to those Stoic influences which had produced an alliance of philosophy and philology. The distinction, and partly opposition, goes back to the leader of the school and librarian of Pergamum, Crates of Mallus (2d century B.C.). Around 300 B.C. the term γραμματικός for literary scholar or teacher started to prevail against the earlier κριτικός as a perfect synonym. To this reacted the Pergamenians in the wake of Crates, who had introduced Stoic ideas into grammatical theory by upholding the doctrine of anomaly against the Alexandrians' analogy.[42] It was Crates who styled himself κριτικός rather than γραμματικός and rated *critica* above *grammatica*, that is the philosophical and aesthetic judgment, κρίσις, above mere explication, or even more specifically, above what he considered to be, and had originally been, the true province of grammar, i.e. the identification of forms and literal solution of textual problems. He developed the allegorical interpretation and sought in Homer the 'useful', interpreting him as the master of divine, human, and physical science. Both currents, the Alexandrian and the Pergamenian, soon entered the Roman literary arena: Crates taught in Rome, where he had been sent by the king of Pergamum as his ambassador. Nevertheless, despite the authoritative example of Crates and his followers, the term *grammatica* came to be used as the most comprehensive label for the manifold activities of the 'literary' scholar, or sometimes, more specifically, for the highest of those activities. This was the merit of the Alexandrians, who, however, sharply reacted to the more subjective or metaphysical interpretations typical of Pergamum. The Alexandrians' conception of γραμματική as linguistic and literary scholarship in the broadest sense is perfectly equivalent to the late nineteenth-century use of the term 'philology'. Thus an epoch-making classification was due to

[41] Γραμματιστής with the meaning of 'teacher of spelling and reading' first appeared in Xenophon's *Symposium* 4, 27, Plato's *Protagoras* 312b, 326, *Euthydemus* 279e, *Leges* VII 812a, *Charmides* 159. Less commonly, γραμματοδιδάσκαλος.

[42] Consequently, grammatical science resulted in a compromise between the two opposed currents, and as such it could be defined as ὁμοίου τε καὶ ἀνομοίου θεωρία, since the declension paradigms, κανόνες, were fixed, according to the analogists' demands, but met the anomalists' views by being varied and numerous. Cf. Funaioli, *op. cit.*, p. 200; also Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* (1912), s. vv. *Grammatik*, κριτικός, φιλόλογος.

Dionysius Thrax, a disciple of Aristarchus who wrote at Alexandria at the end of the second century B.C. the first systematic grammar, whose popularity extended well into the sixteenth century. He defined grammar as a whole, ἐμπειρία ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν λεγομένων, the general cognition of all texts in verse and prose, and divided grammar into ἀνάγνωσις (reading), ἐξήγησις (explication of rhetorical figures), ἀπόδοσις (explanation of things and terms), ἐτυμολογίας εὕρεσις, ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός (determination of grammatical rules), κρίσις ποιημάτων (criticism), the last being the noblest and highest part of the γραμματικὴ τέχνη. This progressive classification remained exemplary and is reflected in later ones. Thus a fourfold division of grammar known to Varro is attributed to Tyrannion the Elder: ἀναγνωστικόν (reading), διορθωτικόν (*recensio*, textual criticism), ἐξηγητικόν (exegesis), κριτικόν (criticism), faithfully rendered by Varro as *lectio*, *emendatio*, *enarratio*, *iudicium*. Asclepiades of Myrlea (1st century B.C.) divided literary scholarship into τεκνικόν, ἱστορικόν, and finally γραμματικόν or ἰδιαίτερον (exegesis and critical evaluation). The echo of Dionysius's division is still felt in Cicero's 'poetarum pertractatio, historiarum cognitio, verborum interpretatio, pronuntiandi quidem sonus' (*De Orat.* I, 187; the order is inverted). Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* I, 2, 14) offered a division of 'grammar' which was popular in Rome and lasted into the Renaissance (e.g. in Guarino's school), into *methodice* ('ratio loquendi') and *historice* or *exegetice* ('poetarum enarratio'). The story of the terminology which prevailed in Rome is epitomized by Suetonius (*Gramm.* 4): 'appellatio grammaticorum Graeca consuetudine invaluit, sed initio literati vocabantur. Cornelius quoque Nepos libello quo distinguit literatum ab erudito, literatos vulgo quidem appellari ait eos qui diligenter aliquid et acute scienterque possint aut dicere aut scribere, ceterum proprie sic appellandos poetarum interpretes qui a Graecis grammatici nominentur.' *Grammatica* remained in use at Rome also in its narrow sense ('theory of forms') without derogatory sense. Seneca seems to be alone in inheriting the Stoic-Pergamenian distrust for grammar. Therefore the terms which prevailed in the modern languages were the original Latin ones (which had been and remained the popular ones), whereas the terminology which Politian attempted to restore (in typical humanistic fashion) was the technical, intellectual parlance which prevailed in classical Rome as imported from Greece.

In his theory, as we have seen in the *Lamia*, Politian upheld the broadest, most inclusive definition of *grammatica*, and had no room for

Crates's rather hostile distinction. In practice, he rarely applied Crates's allegorical method (though we have seen an outstanding application in the note on Triclinius), but he relied heavily on that 'didactic' or 'pedagogic' conception of poetry as a treasury of all scientific knowledge for which Crates was partly responsible. This is seen at best in the lectures on Homer.[43] The *Sylvae*, several *Praelectiones*, and portions of his correspondence and of the very *Miscellanea* show other possibilities of Politian's scholarship, within the wide range of his conception of *grammaticus*, for which we could find the original parallel, if we needed it, in the broader ideal of the Alexandrian school, the πολυμαθής or φιλόλογος (cf. Eratosthenes of Cyrene) practicing (1) textual criticism, (2) exegesis or commentary, (3) κρίσις or literary criticism.[44] The bulk of Politian's scholarly production, however, shows a definite slant in the direction of strictly philological analysis and exegesis of the text (and the *Miscellanea* are his masterpiece in this respect). Consequently, it seems only fair to point out that the true center of his original activity progressively tended to move away from the Pergamenian methodology (exemplified by the early note on Triclinius) and even from the πολυμαθής toward the stricter and narrower ideal of Alexandria: the close study of the text in its direct meaning, a religion of the word, we could say, and the examples of ancient masters named in the *Lamia* bear this out. In the light of this evolution the qualification *philosophus* as applied to Triclinius acquires a particular significance. Even in his earliest scholarship Politian was able to make a distinction between the objective 'philology' of what he will later designate as the *grammaticus* and the 'philosophy' of a subjective, though to him at that moment quite convincing, interpretation, in this case, allegory. And he felt significantly inclined to call such a scholar *philosophus* though he might be generally known as *grammaticus*.

In this sense Politian appears to be the greatest exponent of mature humanism in its technical manifestations, the 'absolute philologist'. In fact the literary scholar, the philologist or *grammaticus*, is the true hero of

[43] 'In Homeri poesi virtutum omnium vitiorumque exempla, omnium semina disciplinarum, omnium rerum humanarum simulacra effigiesque intueamur . . .'. See 'Oratio in expositione Homeri', in *Opera* (Basle, 1553), p. 479. This approach was based on the famous pamphlet on Homer attributed to Plutarch. Cf. G. Finsler, *Homer in der Neuzeit* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 22 and 25–26; G. Toffanin, 'L'Omero del Poliziano', *La Rinascita* IV (1941), 544–554.

[44] Eratosthenes (c. 275–c. 195 B.C.) was the last of the great Alexandrian polymaths, but he was no model for Politian. He fought against the interpretation of poets as chiefly educators and vindicated geography from Homer's fictions.

Italian *Quattrocento* humanism, even more than the free creator, the poet. And this figure, as gloriously exemplified by Politian, should also be kept clearly distinct from that of his friends and associates, Ficino and Pico, whose 'Platonic theology', as Garin has stated, tended to dissolve the individual, historic 'word' and the poetic image born with it into the symbolic ties of the universal and abstract concept, in the search for a 'concordia mundi'.[45] This Platonic and Neoplatonic current was to exert a profound influence in the culture of the Renaissance—suffice it to mention Leone Ebreo's well-articulated doctrine of myths and the three senses of allegory in *Dialoghi d'amore* II, in relation to his hermetic theory of science (Plato spoke by *fabulae*, Aristotle in direct prose but obscurely, the poets by *fabulae* in verse; cf. especially pp. 101–102 of S. Caramella's ed., Bari, 1929). To this method Politian paid an early but rather isolated homage in his note on Triclinius, later to drift further and further away from it in practice, though without any open break, proudly secure on his own path.

All in all, typical as it may be of the best humanism, Politian's position remains quite personal and distinct both from the trends that materialized in the Neoplatonic circle and from the growing Ciceronianism which Paolo Cortese was to hand over to Pietro Bembo, the most authoritative literary lawmaker of the following age. As regards this latter current, Politian could have wholeheartedly subscribed to the profession of faith of his great predecessor, Valla: 'ego pro lege accipio quidquid magnis auctoribus placuit'. It is the exemplary *word* of the good authors (*all* good authors), that convincingly imposes itself on us as a model, not an abstract, schematic rule arbitrarily based on an appeal to logic and reason sounded by a grammarian. And here we see a basic difference between Politian's *grammaticus* and the later grammarians who will dictate the 'bon usage' in the climate of French classicism. The teaching of Politian was characteristic of the most genuine spirit of Italian culture as it was shaped by humanistic philological scholarship. As exemplified by the opposite methods of the *Dizionario della Crusca* (1612) and the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Françoise* (1694), or of the Italian humanistic grammars and the grammars of Port Royal (cf. Arnauld and Nicole's *Logique*, 1664), the whole of the most authentic Italian tradition remained aloof from the 'logic' and the rationalizing classicism that prevailed in France.[46]

[45] Cf. 'L'ambiente del Poliziano', p. 22.

[46] Cf. R. Sabbadini, *Storia del Ciceronianismo* (Torino, 1885), pp. 34–42, and *Il Metodo*, p. 63 *et passim*, especially chs. IV and V.

In Italy, too, the Counter Reformation consolidated the neo-medieval and neo-scholastic tendencies toward rationalistic legislating on forms of expression, and Giulio Cesare Scaligero imported to France his identification of language, grammar, and logic (*De causis linguae latinae*, 1540, parallel to the later *Minerva* by the Spaniard Francisco Sanchez, 1587). But in Italy this remained only one of several possible orientations, and in a way the least authentic in view of the deeply rooted humanistic tradition. Grammar, which for the humanists, as for Politian, led to rhetoric (i.e. linguistic, literary study was regarded as the key to the appreciation of aesthetic values), at Port Royal became identified with 'logic', an analytical method designed to discover the process of thought through the word that expresses it—a process which is viewed as necessarily abstract and collective, 'universal'.[47] Both Politian and Vaugelas (under whose direction the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* was definitively conceived) appealed to *good usage*, but the usage of Vaugelas was restricted to the living, spoken language, and furthermore, the language of the court, whereas Politian's was open to the immense treasure of all good literature of the past (cf. the famous letter to Paolo Cortese, *Ep.* VIII, 16), and still remained 'living', independently and individually personal, fundamentally anti-imitative: 'Non enim sum Cicero, me tamen (ut opinor) exprimo' (*ibid.*). In this, Politian's ideal, brilliantly realized in his own unique style, remained incomparably above the academicism of both Bembo's followers and the Crusca, more or less slavish as these were in the imitation of their models.

Politian's independence from his circle, Ficino's Neoplatonists in particular, is apparent in still another respect. His *grammatica* was an expression of his aloofness from the 'intellectual presumptuousness' that had created the great encyclopedic systems of the middle ages, and was now again prompting Ficino and Pico to seek the new 'Platonico-Christian theology' and the 'concordia mundi'. He instinctively shunned 'Platonica ista remota nimis', the ascetic and mystic flights into the ὑπερουράνιος which characterized Plato and now Ficino as well. Nothing is more alien to his spirit than the inspired but often cloudy and vague symbolism that runs through Ficino's writings. For Politian the words of the texts must be pinned down in their original, individual, unequivocally precise, historically concrete meaning, so as to be made intelligible with absolute, scientific certainty, as an empirical unitary fact endowed with

[47] Cf. B. Migliorini, *Che cos'è un Vocabolario* (Florence, 1951), p. 54 *et passim*, but more explicitly Garin, *L'Educazione in Europa*, chs. IV, 3, 4; VIII, 1, *et passim*.

a relative, well-delimited value. This is the task of the *grammaticus*, his ethics and his act of faith. Sure enough, Politian does speak of ἐγκύκλια, encyclopedic knowledge. But the grammarian-critic's encyclopedia is not a static body of beliefs and cold information. It is not a system of truths, but the search for a method that will adequately serve him who seeks not the universal truth of abstract principles but the true components of everything that has concrete existence.

For this reason he could not ultimately be a Platonist. In Plato, the 'failure' of philosophy was the triumph of poetry.[48] To the inimitable master is commonly attributed a famous spiritual testament (the *Seventh Epistle*), in which he candidly stated that when reaching the borderline of the sublime truth he felt compelled to profess that *that* was ineffable, and precisely then, at that point, his dialogues shifted from logical, abstract reasoning to concrete, poetic myth-making.[49] This mystic tendency of Plato conquered and fascinated much of humanism, with Ficino as standard-bearer, but it may be the very feature that kept Politian away from him and his proselytes. A 'grammarian' wants exact definitions. True enough, he loves poetry above all, and is willing to let even philosophers into the blessed realm of the muses if, and inasmuch as they are, as all poets are, φιλόμυθοι, lovers of myths. Now, myths are at times far from transparent to the unprovided eye of the populace; yet they are, and must be, polished and clear to the penetrating eye of the 'grammarian'. If they resist, if they insistently prove to be *remotiora*, he will turn up his nose and finally turn away from them. At least 'grammarians' of Politian's stamp will.

University of California, Berkeley ALDO SCAGLIONE

[48] Cf. A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 34 and 37.

[49] Cf. Platonis *Dialogi*, ed. I. Bekker (Berlin, 1818), 3:3, 427–480 (with Latin tr.). The relevant passages correspond, in the Stephanus ed., to *Epistle* VII, 341B–345C; also cf. *Phaedrus*, 274B–278B. The authenticity of the *Seventh Epistle* still appears questionable to some; nevertheless its content seems indicative of a fair critical (or autocritical, if authentic) attitude. On the whole question see H. Cherniss's Plato bibliography in *Lustrum* IV (1959), especially nos. 424–437, 444–454, 1123–1124. At any rate, the problem clearly appears also in the dialogues, e.g. *Phaedrus* and *Republic* VI and VII.

As to Politian's general relationship with Platonism in view of his friendship for Ficino, Pico, and their circle, I am far from denying the possibility of Platonist strains and influences in certain areas of his activity (especially his poetic production in the vernacular). I am simply trying to pinpoint the elements of what I consider an unmistakable divergence from general Platonic attitudes in Politian's philological method as well as in his philosophical leanings.

Humanistic Jurisprudence

HITHERTO, when one intended to evaluate humanistic jurisprudence and to assess its significance for the development of legal science, especially for the history of legal dogmatics, one merely indulged in general considerations.[1] With respect to the attitude of its representatives towards the principal ideas of the *mos italicus* and the *mos gallicus*, reaction was merely intuitive. A central problem, such as that of the history of the ideas of *aequitas* and *epieikeia* from antiquity through the medieval and Renaissance periods and further, beyond the era of the reception of Roman law in Europe, to my knowledge was never posed. True, smaller problems of a specialized character

[1] This essay was presented as a lecture to the Columbia University Seminar on the Renaissance on 16 February 1960. The original German version appears as an epilogue to the author's book on the *Ideengeschichte* of 'equity', *Erasmus und die Jurisprudenz seiner Zeit: Studien zum humanistischen Rechtsdenken* (Basel: Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1960, xx+560 pp. with 13 plates), hereafter referred to as *Erasmus*. The German version was also given as a lecture by the author on 12 May 1960, upon the invitation of the Faculty of Law and Political Science at the University of Vienna. A very abbreviated English version was submitted to the XIth International Congress of Historical Sciences at Stockholm on 20 August. Of the footnotes which appeared in *Erasmus*, some are condensed, others are expanded as a result of the study of works that either have only recently been published or were previously not accessible to the author. He takes this opportunity also to add the following items to the 'Bibliography of Aequitas and Epieikeia' (*Erasmus*, pp. 529–538). Each item is to be inserted into its appropriate section, indicated by roman numerals, in chronological order according to date of publication. I: C. A. Albrecht, *Die Stellung der römischen Aequitas in der Theorie des Civilrechts mit Rücksicht auf die zeitgemässe Frage der Codification* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1834); Vittorio Scialoja, *Del diritto positivo e dell'equità*. Discorso inaugurale (Camerino, 1880); also in Scialoja, *Studi giuridici*, III, 1 (Milano, 1932), 1–23, especially 1–4; Wilhelm Sauer, *Die Gerechtigkeit. Wesen und Bedeutung im Leben der Menschen und Völker* (Berlin, 1959), pp. 136–138, 154–157. II: Hasso Jaeger, 'Justinien et l'*episcopalis audientia*', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4e série, XXXVIII (1960), 244–258. III: Emmanuel Michelakis, *Platons Lehre von der Anwendung des Gesetzes und der Begriff der Billigkeit bei Aristoteles* (Munich, 1953). XI: Frederic William Maitland, *English Law and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1901).

The preparation of this essay was assisted by a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

were discussed now and then; but a problem of such basic significance in the view of eminent representatives of humanistic jurisprudence has, up to now, not been studied in the various phases of its historical development. Our first task, therefore, must be to offer some information on the interpretations of humanistic jurisprudence by individual scholars and on the doctrines which have been propounded in more recent times without a solid foundation of extensive monographic studies in this area of research.

Thus—to quote only the opinions of the most important scholars—the historian Gerhard Ritter, summarizing the results of research up to the year 1923, wrote in an article on the historical significance of German humanism: 'It has been long established that in its beginning the development of legal science was hardly at all influenced by humanism in spite of the fact that so many humanists studied law.'[2] To be sure, Ritter is not a jurist, nor is he a legal historian; but in his history of the University of Heidelberg he made some valuable contributions to the history of the teaching of and research in law. His conclusions, sweeping as they are, and their formulation are, to say the least, vague and open to misunderstanding.

With respect to the impact of humanism on jurisprudence, one must distinguish two groups of problems. First, the possibility that humanism influenced to some degree the reception of Roman law in central Europe and its effect on jurisprudence must be studied. In the second place, one must explore the significance of humanistic jurisprudence for the growth of the law, for its doctrines, for its instruction and its study, as well as for its practical application. These two problem areas have in recent years received attention from competent historians of law.[3]

[2] *Historische Zeitschrift* CXXVII (1923), 417. Ritter does not mention any authority for his assertion but continues as follows: 'In Deutschland hat freilich Ulrich Zasius den sehr bemerkenswerten Versuch gemacht, auch den scholastischen Betrieb der Rechtswissenschaft durch den humanistischen Grundsatz originaler Textbetrachtung an Stelle des übermässig entwickelten Glossatorenwesens zu reformieren. Er ist aber isoliert und ebenso erfolglos geblieben wie die Angriffe Laurentius Vallas auf die italienische Jurisprudenz.'

[3] Francesco Calasso, *Introduzione al diritto comune* (Milano, 1951), pp. 181–205, offers an excellent elucidation of humanistic jurisprudence, including its aims and tasks. A survey of more recent literature is found in Domenico Maffei, *Gli inizi dell' umanesimo giuridico* (Milano, 1956), pp. 11–14, cf. pp. 31–59; also Guido Astuti, 'L'Humanisme chrétien dans la renaissance du droit', in *Pensée humaniste et tradition chrétienne aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, ed. Henri Bédarida (Paris, 1950), pp. 136 f.; Hans Julius Wolff, *Roman Law* (Norman, Okla., 1951), pp. 209–213. On the older, for the most part outdated, literature, see Luigi

With respect to the first problem, Franz Wieacker has rightly emphasized that only a genuine inquiry into the encounter of humanism in the fields of literature and education with the process of the reception of Roman law could show to what extent humanism contributed either as motive or cause to this phenomenon of general importance for world history. Wieacker calls for studies of a special character to be carried on again and again. From a critical analysis of a pedagogical tractate by Johannes Apel (1486–1536), a humanistically educated jurist belonging to the reformed Wittenberg scholars around Melanchthon, he arrived at the following conclusion with regard to Germany: 'Literary humanism neither was the cause of the beginning process nor did it give impetus to the progress of the reception of Roman law in Germany. Reception had started and was in full swing even before humanism could have given rise to a legal profession in Germany.'[4] In this opinion Paul Koschaker concurs as follows: 'The reception and study of Roman law were no concern whatever of humanism, for both began, though not in Germany, in a time that had no knowledge of humanism.'[5]

Long before Koschaker, Roderich Stintzing had raised the question whether there would have been a reception of Roman law at all if the glossators and commentators had been humanists. To this question he gave a negative answer. Koschaker agreed with him, though for scholarly reasons he denied the justification of such a question. 'If the glossators and commentators had been humanists, it is very probable that there would have been no reception of Roman law, for the jurists would have despaired of the practical applicability of the *corpus iuris* if they had read its rules and regulations with the eyes of the humanists in their historical meaning and setting. In fact, the further question may

---

Chiappelli, 'La polemica contro i legisti dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI', *Archivio giuridico* XXVI (1881), 295–322.

[4] Franz Wieacker, 'Einflüsse des Humanismus auf die Rezeption, eine Studie zu Johannes Apels Dialogus', *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft* C (1940), 424, 456; recently reprinted in Wieacker, *Gründer und Bewahrer: Rechtslehrer der neueren deutschen Privatrechtsgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1959), pp. 46 f., 90; with reference to p. 424 (46 f.), cf. the identical postulate by Arnaldo Momigliano, *Rivista Storica Italiana* LXIX (1957), 291; with p. 456 (90), cf. Helmut Coing, *Die Rezeption des römischen Rechts in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt a. M., 1939), pp. 189 f., also Paul Koschaker, *Europa und das römische Recht* (Munich, 1947), p. 225, note 1. Wieacker (p. 426 [49]) dates the origin of Apel's *Isagoge per dialogum in quatuor libros Institutionum D. Iustiniani Imperatoris*, published posthumously in 1540 at Breslau, 'after 1534', although a draft of the work existed before 1530.

[5] Koschaker, *op. cit.*, p. 225, note 1.

even be raised, whether the progress of reception would not have been impeded if the humanistic trend had gained dominance in jurisprudence.'[6] Indeed, in Woldemar Engelmann's opinion, later shared by Erich Genzmer, it was humanism that 'could not change or arrest the decline of Italian jurisprudence at the end of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth century'. According to the critic, 'not the "return to antiquity" but a continued effort to reach beyond Bartolus and Baldus with the help of Bartolus and Baldus would have remedied the situation'. 'Humanism', he states, 'did not satisfy the ethical demands of justice, for its dazzling and vain cult of personality was not suitable for strengthening a sense of responsibility.'[7] In spite of the recognition of the scholarly work and achievement of individual humanist jurists, such as Donellus and Cuiacius, Genzmer arrived at a completely negative judgment, and even condemned humanism outright with respect to its significance for and impact on the development of jurisprudence: 'Humanism, evaluated in its entirety, was harmful to a progressive development of the dogmatics of law.'

Erik Wolf, on the contrary, expressed a more restrained view. 'The humanistic idea of rediscovered antiquity forming an absolute model for life was a concept of intellectual culture, not a legal policy or a social program. True, it helped to shape the intellectual physiognomy of the period, but it was not able to exert an immediate influence in the realm of the law. The humanistic trend has had little influence on the practice or application of the principles of Roman law. . . . Through this extension of its horizon legal doctrine was enriched and faced new tasks. To be sure, practical legal life has hardly been benefited by these humanistic efforts. . . . But from the point of view of an ideal aim, not from that of a limited period of time, something comes to light that cannot be lost, that indeed permits us to recognize in humanism a truly positive value for the evolution of the law. It is the ethical and intellec-

[6] Roderich Stintzing, *Geschichte der deutschen Rechtswissenschaft*, I (Munich and Leipzig, 1880), p. 113; Koschaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 113, 116 f. to which subsequent reference is made; following him, Astuti, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 f.

[7] Woldemar Engelmann, *Die Wiedergeburt der Rechtskultur in Italien durch die wissenschaftliche Lehre* (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 241 f.; Erich Genzmer, 'Kritische Studien zur Mediaevistik I', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Rom. Abt., LXI (1941), 328 f. Genzmer also refers to Wieacker's above-mentioned essay and also to Salvatore Riccobono's writings cited in his own note 25; cf. especially Riccobono, '*Mos italicus* e *mos gallicus* nella interpretazione del Corpus Iuris Civilis', *Acta Congressus Iuridici . . . Romae 1934*, II (Rome, 1935), pp. 377–398.

tual renewal of legal thinking through scholarly research in the service of justice.'[8] Wieacker's recent, carefully weighed opinion is related to that of Erik Wolf: 'This humanistic jurisprudence established a new relationship between the European spirit and the Roman law, which derived from the deeper forces of passion for antiquity and from an intuitive vision of the pure idea. . . . This led to philological discoveries which, however, yielded little for practical jurisprudence.'[9]

In arriving at these evaluations, we have touched on the second problem, namely, the significance of humanistic jurisprudence for the development of legal doctrine and for the practical application of the law. Koschaker, too, has tried to assess objectively and without prejudice the achievements of humanism in the field of legal science. According to him, 'there cannot be the slightest doubt that from the point of view of the present concept of scholarship it represented great progress'. In judging thus he had in mind, above all, 'the true principle of scholarship' adopted by the humanist-jurists who proclaimed the penetration into Roman sources and the discovery of the historical truth contained therein as a scholarly postulate. Though he acknowledges these merits, Koschaker, too, reproaches the humanist-jurists for the serious defects in their method of approach: 'In requiring for the study of Roman law that the scholar and the future lawyer have a knowledge of philology and history, in fact an encyclopedic knowledge, the humanists not only brought into jurisprudence foreign elements to which they assigned a dominant position, but they also impressed it with an exclusive character which it did not have before. The study of Roman law had always demanded legal scholarship because of the difficulties involved in dealing with the *corpus iuris*; now a tendency manifested itself to make it the privilege of a small group of scholars who had a command of the necessary comprehensive humanistic erudition and thus to lose contact with lawyers and legal practice.' Accordingly, humanistic scholarship led of necessity to estrangement from the world and to doubts as to whether ancient Roman law could meet modern needs. 'The work of the hu-

[8] Erik Wolf, *Grosse Rechtsdenker der deutschen Geistesgeschichte* (3d ed., Tübingen, 1951), pp. 71 f., and even more positively, p. 87.

[9] Franz Wieacker, *Privatrechtsgeschichte der Neuzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Entwicklung* (Göttingen, 1952), pp. 43 f.; also pp. 83 f., 135 f. Similarly, Astuti (*supra*, note 2), p. 126: 'En effet, cette école . . . jetait les bases de l'historiographie juridique, mais ne sut pas exercer une influence considérable sur la jurisprudence contemporaine.' In the essay cited in note 3, which was reprinted almost unchanged in 1959, Wieacker's assessment of humanistic jurisprudence is basically negative.

manists of the *mos gallicus* contributed to the undermining of the authority of the *corpus iuris*. As a result of this theoretical approach their influence on the practice of law was nil; they even brought about a separation of legal theory and practice resulting in a withdrawal of the latter from the universities.'

The foregoing criticism, supported even by scholars closer to that time, such as the Italian protagonist of the *mos italicus* in England, Alberico Gentili (1552–1608), and the likewise Italian legal philosopher Gian Battista Vico (1688–1744), cannot be denied a certain justification. Yet one must not forget that Gentili in particular had to apply more severe standards of criticism because of his apologetical position. However, it is equally true that one must not generalize this judgment and condemn humanistic jurisprudence altogether, as has been done, on account of its alleged purely antiquarian or 'elegant' tendency, which is said to bear little relationship to life and to the practice of the law, and therefore to have resulted in a lack of creativity in law.[10] Despite his rather critical attitude even Koschaker has emphasized that the humanist-jurists, 'thanks precisely to their penetrating exegesis of individual passages—therein lies, for instance, the importance of Cujas—greatly contributed to the historically correct understanding of the sources of Roman law'.

Wolfgang Kunkel seems to have perceived more positive aspects in the jurisprudence of the sixteenth century than most of his colleagues in

[10] On Gentili, see Gezina Hermina Johanna van der Molen, *Alberico Gentili and the Development of International Law, His Life and Times* (Amsterdam, 1937), pp. 206 ff.; on Vico, see Guido Astuti, *Mos italicus e mos gallicus nei dialoghi 'De iuris interpretibus' di Alberico Gentili* (Bologna, 1937), p. 86. Johann Gottlob Heineccius (1681–1741) opposed the attitude described above in the introduction to his new edition of Ezechiel Spanheim's work, *Orbis Romanus* (Halle, 1728), p. 3: '. . . id sane nobis praebuit excellentissimus Spanheimius simulque in ruborem dedit homines barbaros, qui istis litteris excultos ad jurisprudentiam et res gerendas parum aptos esse judicant'; cf. G. Kisch, *Recht und Gerechtigkeit in der Medaillenkunst* (Heidelberg, 1955), p. 19, note 4. In contrast, no less a historian of law than Maitland expressed this opinion: 'Some of these "elegant" French jurists were so much imbued with the historical spirit that in their hands the study of Roman law became the study of an ancient history' (Frederic William Maitland, *English Law and the Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1901, p. 58, note 28). Stephan Kuttner's judgment appears by implication to be similar ('Methodological Problems concerning the History of Canon Law', *Speculum* xxx, 1955, pp. 540 f.): 'And with all due respect for the age of Godefroy and Antoine Favre and Cujas, we have to go down to the nineteenth century and the German historical school before the horizon begins to widen and we encounter a new jurisprudence which would no longer identify the history of law with the history of legislation nor with delight in legal antiquities.'

the field of Roman law studies. 'One is tempted to believe', he says, 'that in the final analysis the humanistic bent of his thinking enabled Ulrich Zasius to accomplish what he did, namely, the amalgamation of German and foreign laws in his revision of the municipal law of Freiburg. The history of the reception of Roman law would perhaps have taken a different course and the acceptance of foreign legal principles might not have taken place in such a blind and uncritical manner had the humanistic current penetrated more deeply into German legal scholarship.'[11] This statement implies to some extent an acknowledgment by Kunkel of the creative achievement, in Zasius, of humanistic jurisprudence in the field of legislation. Basing myself on the results of research presented in my above-mentioned book, I believe I can go much further in the positive appraisal of humanistic jurisprudence.

Its merits in the field of research in the history of Roman law and the methods applied therein need no detailed discussion, for there is general agreement regarding the essential points. The search on the part of the humanist-jurists for new methods of teaching and study to obtain a more comprehensive acquaintance with and thorough penetration of Roman law has already received the attention of scholars.[12] More exhaustive investigations are needed in various areas of the reception of Roman law, particularly in Germany and Switzerland. With regard to the application of law, one need not think only of the eminent lawyers of a somewhat later period, such as Jacques Cujas (1522–1590) and Hugo Donellus (1527–1591), whose importance not only for the theory but also for the practice of law in the sixteenth century is stressed even by those legal historians who, like Koschaker and Genzmer, sharply criticize juridical humanism. One should not forget, however, to add to these names many others. Koschaker himself refers to some of them,

[11] Wolfgang Kunkel, *Quellen zur neueren Privatrechtsgeschichte Deutschlands*, I, 1 (Weimar, 1936), p. XXIII; cf. however, Kunkel, *ibid.*, I, 2 (1938), p. XLIV, and *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Rom. Abt., LXXI (1954), 518. Cf. also G. Kisch, *ibid.*, Germ. Abt., LXXIV (1957), 374.

[12] Vincenzo Piano Mortari, 'Considerazioni sugli scritti programmatici dei giuristi del secolo XVI', *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris* XXI (1955), 276–302; Mortari, *Dialettica e giurisprudenza: Studio sui trattati di dialettica legale del sec. XVI* (Milano, 1955); Wieacker, 'Ratschläge für das Studium der Rechte aus dem Wittenberger Humanistenkreise', in his book, *Gründer und Bewahrer*, pp. 92–104; Friedrich Merzbacher, 'Johann Apels dialektische Methode der Rechtswissenschaft, eine Station in der Entwicklung des juristischen Unterrichts', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Rom. Abt., LXXV (1958), 364–374; Werner Vogel, *Franz Hotmann und die Privatrechtswissenschaft seiner Zeit*, doctoral thesis, University of Freiburg i. Br. (Münster, 1960), pp. 28, 63, 102 f., 118.

emphasizing in particular the Dutch school. Special mention should go, for instance, to Charles Dumoulin (1500–1566). In spite of his leaning towards Bartolus, he stands out equally as a practical and as a theoretical jurist. Next to Cujas he is certainly the most significant personality in the history of law of the sixteenth century in France.[13] Beside him are to be placed, above all, Ulrich Zasius (1461–1535) and Claudius Cantiuncula (c. 1490–1549), both born in the fifteenth century. These two played an important rôle as theorists and teachers of law; they participated in legislative activities, and in the field of juridical practice they were recognized as legal experts and consultants, who were very much in demand. Their *consilia* and their consiliar practice still remain to be investigated.[14] No one will be able to reproach them with having been estranged from the world. The same holds true for the legal counselor Bonifacius Amerbach (1495–1562), prominent in Basel and much sought after also outside his native city. Although he did not engage in literary activity—he produced no systematic or theoretical work—in juridical erudition he was in no way inferior to his two friends Zasius and Cantiuncula. Through his combination of the *mos italicus* and the *mos gallicus* and with his practical approach to legal thought, he took a far more active part in the adaptation of the law in its application to the demands of his time than did Cantiuncula, who, on the other hand, surpassed him as a writer of theoretical works on law. Through legal opinions on the law of guardianship and marriage, which he submitted at the request of the Duke of Württemberg, he also exerted some influence on legislation.

Finally, mention should be made of such scholars as Gulielmus Budaeus (1468–1540) and Andreas Alciatus (1492–1550), initiators and protagonists of humanistic thought in French jurisprudence. Budé in particular exerted a significant and lasting influence on both the practice and the theory of European law, an influence that extended to Germany, Italy, Spain, and England. Nor should Franciscus Hotomanus' (François Hotman, 1524–1590) efforts to initiate a codification of French law

[13] A critical biography of Dumoulin (Carolus Molinaeus) is lacking; a short biographical sketch may be found in Franz Gamillscheg, *Der Einfluss Dumoulins auf die Entwicklung des Kollisionsrechts* (Berlin-Tübingen, 1955, Beiträge zum ausländischen und internationalen Privatrecht XXV), pp. 1–16, including bibliography.

[14] Cf. G. Kisch, *Erasmus*, pp. 368 ff.; G. Kisch, 'Bonifacius Amerbach als Rechtsgutachter', *Festgabe für Max Gerwig* (Basel, 1960, Basler Studien zur Rechtswissenschaft LV), pp. 85–120.

be forgotten. His program for codification was adopted by Herman Conring (1606–1681), who even stressed it by quoting Aristotle's postulate that everything possible should be regulated by legislation and as little as possible left to the judges' decision (*Rhet.* I. 1, 1354 a 31–34).[15] In this connection we should not forget Johannes Oldendorp (1488–1567), who wished, above all, to serve the practice of law through his literary activity.

It is natural that the contribution of each jurist to the development of jurisprudence and his influence on legal practice should be different. But one can hardly speak here of a *Weldfremdheit*, an estrangement from the world harmful to the evolution of the law, or of an antiquarian 'professorial' erudition. For these humanist-jurists, too, considered it the main purpose of their activities and the ideal of their lives to serve the law. To this ideal they devoted all their scholarly research and their academic teaching. Men like Ulrich Zasius and Claudius Cantiuncula, although waging constant warfare against the glossators and commentators of the Roman law, did not want to discard the juridical achievements of these great medieval lawyers. It was precisely they who continued to build and work on the foundation laid by those lawyers through the centuries, not, however, without a critical approach of their own. Thus they achieved, or they strove to achieve, exactly what their modern critics now ask of them, namely, 'to reach with the help of Bartolus and Baldus beyond Bartolus and Baldus'. This can be seen particularly in the work of Cantiuncula.[16] In the final analysis, each of the humanist-jurists who dealt, for example, with the doctrine of equity formed his own conception of *aequitas* or projected into the term *epieikeia* an idea of his own in order to create appropriate ways and reliable means for the practical application of the law. Therein lies the meaning and significance of the theoretical discussion and legal-philosophical treatment of the doctrine of *epieikeia* by the humanist-jurists.

[15] Herman Conring, *De origine iuris Germanici liber unus* (2d ed., Helmstedt, 1649), chap. XXXIV, pp. 213 f.; and chap. XXXV, added in the third edition (1665); cf. *Erasmus*, pp. 315, note 16, and 420. On Hotman, see J. van Kan, 'François Hotman en de codifikatiepolitiek van zijn tijd', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* III (1922), 1–11. On Conring's indebtedness to Hotman, see Julius Baron, 'Franz Hotmanns Antitribonian, ein Beitrag zu den Kodifikationsbestrebungen vom XVI. bis zum XVIII. Jahrhundert', in *Litterarum Universitati Bononiensi, saecularia octava . . . celebranti, rite gratulatur litterarum Universitatis Bernensis rector ac senatus* (Bern, 1888), pp. XXVI f.; Vogel, *Franz Hotmann*, pp. 115 f.

[16] *Erasmus*, chap. 7, pp. 169 ff.; cf. also G. Kisch, *Bartolus und Basel* (Basel, 1960, Basler Studien zur Rechtswissenschaft LIV), pp. 48 ff.; Wieacker, *Privatrechtsgeschichte*, pp. 83 f.

To be sure, sometimes, as in the case of Budaeus, they went astray, carried away by their philological and antiquarian predilections. Not all of them succeeded in establishing complete equilibrium between their theoretical bent and the necessary fulfillment of duty to the demands of practice. However, we should not, for that reason, underestimate the significance of their work in the field of jurisprudence, and their achievement for legal scholarship and the practical application of law. Some of their essential accomplishments have until now escaped legal-historical inquiry, but wherever some spadework has been done, important achievements in jurisprudence of the humanistic school have been brought to light. Thus, it was the humanist-jurists, with their leaning toward history, who, through their scholarly investigations, cleared the way for the doctrine of sovereignty.[17] The juridical aspects and theoretical elements of the very complicated and difficult doctrine of monetary value were elucidated by Charles Dumoulin for the realization of the principles of law in French practice. This was done in a way which, up to the present, is still a matter of interest in the history of monetary law.[18] Dumoulin also made an important contribution in the field of conflict of laws.[19] Moreover, it is to the humanist-jurists that modern legal thought owes the theoretical opening up of the wide domains of *epieikeia* and equity, acquainting us with the varied evolution of legal-dogmatic ideas of these concepts from Aristotle through Budé, past the time of natural law, and up to the present, as is evidenced by the conclusions of my research in these problems. The history of the Aristotelian doctrine of *epieikeia* and of the development of its ideological content shows in an especially impressive way how seriously humanistic jurisprudence has wrestled with the elucidation of the basic conceptions in order to make them serviceable in the practical application of law in a

[17] Myron P. Gilmore, *Argument from Roman Law in Political Thought 1200–1600* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941, Harvard Historical Monographs XV), pp. 45–92; cf. Astuti (*supra*, note 3), p. 132; for the period of the glossators, see Francesco Calasso, *I glossatori e la teoria della sovranità* (3d ed., Milano, 1957).

[18] Cf. Ernst Stampe, 'War Carolus Molinaeus Nominalist? Eine Untersuchung über seinen Valor extrinsecus monetae', *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. 1926*, Nr. IX (Berlin, 1926), pp. 37–66; additional studies on the history of French monetary law by the same author in *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrg. 1930, phil.-hist. Kl.* Nr. 2 (Berlin, 1930), p. 92, and *ibid.*, 1932, Nr. 3 (Berlin, 1932). Cf., moreover, John T. Noonan, Jr., *The Scholastic Analysis of Usury* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp. 367–370; also Arthur Nussbaum, *Money in the Law* (Brooklyn, 1950), p. 217, note 67; pp. 267 f.

[19] See *supra*, note 13.

manner suitable to and in conformity with the ideal of the law. Additional monographic studies of a similar nature would enlarge and complete the picture drawn here.

Another result of my investigations may deserve not to be overlooked in appraising the rôle of humanistic jurisprudence in the historical development of law. It is the turning of humanist-jurists to the philosophy of law.

The essence of humanist-historical jurisprudence has rightly been recognized and described as 'the return to the sources and, resulting from this, as an insight into the historical growth of the law'.[20] 'In exactly the same spirit in which Erasmus took it upon himself to uncover the "true" text of the New Testament in order to derive from it the "true" Christianity, Alciatus strove to free the generally known texts of the *corpus iuris* from the network of interpreting glosses and to elucidate these texts with the aid of historical, philosophical, and other sources of antiquity.'[21] With this *obiter dictum* Carl J. Friedrich expressed in a happy formulation the gist of certain results of the research submitted in my book.[22] Friedrich drew his parallel between Erasmus and Alciatus in an intuitive manner, basing it largely on general considerations. My inquiry into Erasmus' basic attitude toward problems posed by law attempts to determine the place to be assigned, within the framework of his *philosophia Christi*, to his observations and utterances on law and justice.[23] True, Erasmus' conceptions are shaped by the classical tradition and by the doctrine of the gospels. But it is not the spirit of the Christian natural law derived from scholasticism or of the ecclesiastical doctrine of *aequitas* that reveals itself in him. It is rather the idea of humanity as an expression of a free unfolding of the human spirit, deriving from and

[20] Carl J. Friedrich, *Die Philosophie des Rechts in historischer Perspektive* (Berlin, 1955, Enzyklopädie der Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft), p. 32.

[21] Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 32. The comparison of the significance and effect of the humanistic slogan *ad fontes* for theology and jurisprudence is obvious and has frequently been made; cf., e.g., Wieacker, *Privatrechtsgeschichte*, p. 43: 'Auch für die Jurisprudenz fordert der Humanismus die Rückkehr zu den reinen Quellen, so wie er durch die Rückkehr zum reinen Schriftwort (der hebräischen und griechischen Bibeltexte) die Reformation wissenschaftlich vorbereitet hat.' Wieacker speaks of 'reformbedürftigen Ordnungen der Kirche wie der Juristenkirche'; cf. Koschaker, *Europa und das römische Recht*, p. 106; Wieacker, 'Einflüsse des Humanismus auf die Rezeption' (*supra*, note 4), pp. 436, 439 (thus already Apel in his *Isagoge* c. 1534; *supra*, note 4), 442, 447.

[22] For the following exposition reference is made generally to Friedrich's concise and basically pertinent analysis of humanistic jurisprudence (pp. 30–34).

[23] *Erasmus*, chap. 5.

developing within the framework of the Erasmian philosophy, with its emphasis on the ethical element.[24] In this Erasmian philosophy of Christ Claudius Cantiuncula finds support, or, to put it more precisely, he has adopted it in his struggle for humanistic jurisprudence and adapted it to jurisprudence.[25] In his juridical-intellectual development and attitude, which also exerted an influence on other humanist-jurists of the sixteenth century (for instance, Oldendorp and Bonifacius Amerbach), a tendency can be observed that is characteristic of humanistic jurisprudence and can be explained as growing out of an intensive preoccupation with the world of ideas of antiquity: it is the leaning of humanistic jurisprudence toward the philosophy of law. Originally, Cantiuncula had derived his 'Christian' doctrine of *aequitas* from Erasmian philosophy, having adapted the latter to his own way of thinking in the field of the philosophy of law, which in turn had been influenced by Baldus, the only philosophically inclined lawyer of the middle ages. Like Erasmus, Cantiuncula remained indebted to scholasticism. A further deepening of his doctrine of *aequitas* led him to a more intensive, independent, and critical study of Aristotle, for which he consulted the commentaries on the *Nicomachean Ethics* known in his day.[26] The same attitude may be observed in his friend Bonifacius Amerbach. Amerbach devoted himself even more intensively to Aristotelian studies, and in a considerably more penetrating manner than Cantiuncula, though he lacked the latter's literary creativity. He considered the study of philosophy, of moral philosophy in particular, as the only means by which to overcome the

[24] *Erasmus*, chap. 5; especially pp. 120 ff.

[25] *Erasmus*, chap. 6. Erasmus' Christian philosophy also influenced other jurists of renown, Zasius, for instance, who, in 1526, wrote to Bonifacius Amerbach: '. . . intellego magnum Erasmum nondum a me defecisse, cuius commodum et honorem, famam et prominentiam, si ullae michi vires essent, tueri et corpore cupio, quando ingenio destituor. . . . Chrystianismum Erasmi sequamur, acutas cavillationes sophistis relinquentes, cum nimia disceptatio (ut nos vulgo dicimus) et perdat veritatem et deum offendat' (Alfred Hartmann, *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, III, Basel, 1947, no. 1113, p. 148). The fact that Erasmus' influence on juridical thought has been established is evidence also for the realm of jurisprudence of what an eminent Erasmus scholar expressed in general as follows: 'Avec Calvin, Budé, Rabelais ou Montaigne, il [Erasme] domine l'histoire intellectuelle de notre XVIème siècle' (Augustin Renaudet, 'La Critique érasmienne et l'humanisme français', in the Dutch memorial volume for Erasmus in *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, Serie VII, Nr. 7, 1936, p. 226). Cf. also Erasmus' influence on Hugo Grotius, which deserves a separate inquiry; for the time being, see Johannes Spörl, 'Hugo Grotius und der Humanismus des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Historisches Jahrbuch* LV (1935), 350–357.

[26] *Erasmus*, chaps. 11 and 12, also Exkurs VI.

difficulties placed in the way of a methodical penetration into the law and a comprehension of the essence of its nature. In moral philosophy Amerbach sees the last and the true source of law.[27] Thus, like the development from theology to philosophy, the evolution leads from legal history and legal dogmatics to the philosophy of law.

This philosophy of law seems to have taken abstract theoretical paths. Yet one must not forget that sixteenth-century jurists with a humanistic orientation wished to serve the legal needs of their time, that is to say, they strove to adapt Roman law to the exigencies of their age. This certainly is true of Alciati and his school; it applies equally to Cujas and most of the others. Friedrich was right when he wrote that 'behind this erudite façade was concealed a fight for the "just law" [*richtiges Recht*] in the sense of one suitable to the social conditions'. 'In this way', he further stated, 'the humanistic lawyers have greatly furthered the so-called reception of Roman law.' His assertion, however, that 'scholastic-theological reason was now supplanted by historicizing reason, which in turn paved the way for the chiefly philosophical problematics of the more recent natural law' may perhaps apply to Alciati, but it requires supplementary explanation. Developments in the course of the history of ideas as a rule require long periods of time and rarely go from the starting point directly to their destination. This applies also to the development here under consideration. It seems that with the sole exception of Budaeus, to whom law and Christian philosophy appeared to be irreconcilable contradictions,[28] all the thinkers whose doctrines on equity I have studied succeeded in bringing law in theory as well as in practice into harmony, not only with philosophy, but also with the idea of God, whether they remained faithful to the old religion or adopted the new one with more or less compromise. The synthesis was achieved on the basis of the 'Christian philosophy' of Erasmus, 'that spiritualized religiosity' (*vergeistigte Religiosität*), to use Josef Sellmair's expression, to which Budaeus also was strongly indebted. This phase of development, which endeavored to harmonize law, religion (not theology), and philosophy, may have been due to the strong influence of religion on the

[27] *Erasmus*, chap. 15. Cf. Andreas Alciatus, 'Oratio in laudem iuris civilis', in his *Lucubrationes in ius civile*, II (Basel, 1546), p. 508: 'Ad Philosophiam venio, quae ita cum hac professione coniungitur, ut altera sine altera esse nullo modo possit. Nam ea demum vera Philosophia est, quae iustitiae inhaeret'; quoted (with an incorrect page reference) by Calasso, *Introduzione al diritto comune*, pp. 193 f., note 30.

[28] *Erasmus*, chap. 9, pp. 224 ff.

German mind and may have necessarily rendered the process of evolution complex.[29] It should be considered important for two reasons.

First, it becomes evident that the philosophical detachment of law from a religious basis was not effected by humanistic jurisprudence. It did not result from the adoption of the Aristotelian doctrine of law nor from the reception of 'pagan' Roman law. Cantiuncula, who remained a faithful Catholic, in defending the latter against the charge that it contradicted the doctrines of the Gospel,[30] found he had to tread on theological ground in order best to serve his end. In the dedicatory preface to his *Oratio apologetica in patrocinium iuris civilis* addressed to his friend Bonifacius Amerbach, he explained and tried to justify this seemingly strange way of proceeding.[31] He finally arrived at Erasmus' Christian philosophy, on which his own *Christiana aequitas* rests, rooted in Christianity in general, not in Christian theology. It was only Jean Bodin (1530–1596) who, with his political theory, abandoned the religious aspect. More recent research has disclosed the indirect reason for this to have been the doctrine of *merum imperium* in Alciati's formulation, which had also played an important rôle in the reasoning of the medieval glossators and commentators.[32]

[29] Cf. Ritter, *Historische Zeitschrift* CXXVII (1923), 452 f.; Ritter, *Erasmus und der deutsche Humanistenkreis am Oberrhein* (Freiburg i. Br., 1937, Freiburger Universitätsreden XXIII), p. 14. In discussing the intellectual stature of the Spanish jurist Fernandus Vasquius (1512–1569), Ernst Reibstein correctly describes such a synthesis—'a humanistic combination [*Zusammenschau*] of morality and law according to philosophical principles that did not contradict Christian tradition but were independent of theology, the old as well as the new one'—as a necessity (*Zeitbedürfnis*) of the sixteenth century; Reibstein, *Johannes Althusius als Fortsetzer der Schule von Salamanca* (Karlsruhe, 1955, Freiburger rechts- und staatswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen V), p. 144. On the historical development of the humanistic-juristic doctrine of natural law in Spain about the middle of the sixteenth century and its evaluation by Reibstein, see *Erasmus*, pp. 399 f., note 28.

[30] *Erasmus*, chap. 4, pp. 94 ff.; G. Kisch, *Humanismus und Jurisprudenz: Der Kampf zwischen mos italicus und mos gallicus an der Universität Basel* (Basel, 1955, Basler Studien zur Rechtswissenschaft XLII), pp. 24 ff.

[31] Claudii Cantiunculae *Oratio apologetica in patrocinium iuris civilis* (Basel, 1522), p. 2: 'Desines vero mirari, si rescieris, me valde theologum esse factum, sic tamen, ut a iure civili non defecerim. Ostendo enim, illud Silenum quendam theologicum aluisse, qui Aegyptium templum antiquo proverbio celebratum multo magis vicissitudine quadam mereatur quam dii quidam ridiculosi, qui illud hactenus occuparunt, et quorum exquisito honori tantus impensus fuit labor.—Aenigmata loqui me putas? Te Oedipum esse volo. Tametsi quid opus Oedipo? Fato quodam nuper adactus sum, ut iustis et ordinariis legum civilium adsertoribus operam succisivam quasi succenturiaturus honeste detrectare non possem.' Despite considerable research and effort expended on the problem of the 'Egyptian temple', the author did not succeed in solving this riddle.

[32] Cf. Gilmore, *Argument from Roman Law in Political Thought 1200–1600*, pp. 47–57;

Furthermore, the reception of the Aristotelian doctrine of *epieikeia* at the beginning of the sixteenth century, its penetration into legal thought, and the study of commentaries on Aristotle's works of that period offer ample evidence that the beginnings of the philosophy of law can be traced back to the humanist-jurists. Its basis, though Christian in character, was not theological. Legal philosophy was, therefore independent of the church, grounded more on Roman law and natural law, hence leaning toward secular philosophy.[33] This development took place a hundred years before Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), who is regarded as the initiator of that trend of thought and the founder of the modern philosophy of law, and two generations before Alberico Gentili (1552–1608), the forerunner of Grotius.[34] Henceforth, one can not refuse a place in the history of legal philosophy to Cantiuncula as an early precursor of a special kind. He will even have to be given precedence over Johannes Oldendorp, for Oldendorp's essential writings are based on Cantiuncula's work.[35] In considering the historical development of the philosophy of law, the Spaniard Johannes Lodovicus Vives, pioneer in the theory and philosophy of education, should not be forgotten, though his main interest and literary activity did not lie in the field of jurisprudence.[36]

The results of my investigations, it is hoped, will throw on the importance and value of humanistic jurisprudence a light much more favorable than and different from that in which it appears at present. No harmful effect on the progressive development of the dogmatics of

---

Friedrich, *Die Philosophie des Rechts in historischer Perspektive*, pp. 32, 34; also Reibstein (*supra*, note 29), pp. 104 f., 129, 212 f. On the secularization of jurisprudence and the rôle played by Alberico Gentili, see van der Molen, *Alberico Gentili and the Development of International Law*, pp. 210 ff. There is no need to enter here into a discussion on the way in which the demarcation of legal doctrine from moral theology developed later.

[33] Cantiuncula, *Oratio apologetica*, pp. 20 ff.; G. Kisch, *Humanismus und Jurisprudenz*, pp. 25 f., 126 ff., where excerpts from Cantiuncula's discourse are given. In his stimulating essay cited *supra*, note 3, Guido Astuti discusses the significance of Christianity for the renaissance movements in the realm of jurisprudence from the period of the glossators to that of the humanist-jurists without, however, giving attention to the point of view emphasized above in the present essay.

[34] Giorgio del Vecchio, *Lehrbuch der Rechtsphilosophie* (2d German ed., Basel, 1951), pp. 113, 119 f. Cf. Slavomir Condanari, *Humanismus und Rechtswissenschaft* (Innsbruck, 1947, Ewiger Humanismus, Schriften der Oesterreichischen Humanistischen Gesellschaft in Innsbruck, VIII), pp. 13 f., on the logic of Grotius' conclusions, which is reminiscent of Cantiuncula's method of offering proof in his *Oratio apologetica*.

[35] *Erasmus*, chap. 10, pp. 232 ff., 242, note 25.

[36] On Vives, see *Erasmus*, chap. 3.

law is to be attributed to humanistic jurisprudence. Its operation and effects cannot be termed merely negative; one must perceive and recognize in their full measure and significance the positive forces that humanistic jurisprudence brought into play. This intellectual movement of the sixteenth century had a lasting influence on and value for the historical development of law, of legal theory and jurisprudence, of legal ideas and their use in the practical application of the law. It is due only to humanistic jurisprudence that some basic ideas of modern law have received their modern stamp. The awakening of the historical sense in the realm of legal scholarship is an important phenomenon, as it is in other fields of *Geistesgeschichte*. The era inaugurated by this evolution must be considered a period of development that cannot be disregarded, nor should its significance be misunderstood or underestimated.

Two trends of thought can be distinguished among the jurists of this period. One is devoted completely to the sources, their study, their critique, their comprehension, from the philological, historical, and archaeological points of view. The other concentrates more on legal dogmatics, with the purpose of adapting and utilizing for the needs of contemporary society the law and juridical acumen of a particular period of ancient civilization, thereby enabling contemporary courts and lawyers to avail themselves in practice of the regulations of Roman law which, by means of logical interpretation, have been made to conform to changed conditions. One ought not to apply different standards in evaluating the two trends. From the point of view of the history of law there can be no doubt that both are important and that both have merit. Those scholars who reproach the first school of thought for a too strongly theoretical and antiquarian erudition (*Verwissenschaftlichung des Rechts*, *Professorenrecht*, as opposed to *Juristenrecht*) may be reminded that the results of even purely theoretical and perhaps merely academic studies are, for the most part, not without value. Sooner or later the work is taken up by others, by contemporary or subsequent generations of students, for whose practical purposes it proves useful. To give only one example, it is due to just such a purely abstract theory that Jean Bodin and Charles Loyseau (1564–1627) were able to develop their thoroughly practical doctrines of sovereignty and public authority.[37] Continued research, particularly into basic legal problems, like that done on *merum imperium* or *aequitas* and *epieikeia*, will, it is to be hoped, encourage a

[37] Cf. Gilmore, *Argument from Roman Law in Political Thought 1200–1600*, pp. 70 f., 98 f., 113 ff., 93–126.

more positive appraisal of humanistic jurisprudence. The present discussion has attempted to set forth some supporting arguments derived from the study of the history of the idea of Equity and its relationship to law in the development of European jurisprudence. If we owed no more to the humanist-jurists than the adoption of the Aristotelian doctrine of *epieikeia* in juridical thinking, its rethinking and reformation as seen from various aspects discussed in my book on Erasmus and the jurisprudence of his time, this alone would suffice for the assignment to their rightful place of the constructive work and the positive achievements of humanistic jurisprudence with its great significance and lasting practical value.

University of Basel, Switzerland GUIDO KISCH

The Education of a Prince: Lodovico il Moro and the Rise of Pandolfo Petrucci

N the years following Charles VIII's inglorious retreat from Naples, Lodovico Sforza, duke of Milan, was Italy's busiest diplomat. Though the brief visit of the French king and his knights had brought Lodovico little except prestige (more concrete advantage came from the fortuitous death of the young Milanese pretender), it certainly provided him a broader field on which he could play his diplomatic game. Dispatches by the score went out from his chancery. To all the courts and princes they went, and many, perhaps most, of them concerned the affairs of Tuscany. For Lodovico had his calculating eye turned south. With Venice, he was supporting the desperate struggle of the Pisans to free themselves from Florence. He sent off money and cavalry and capped his gifts with another of his famous invitations, this one to Maximilian of Austria. Few in Italy doubted that once again the Milanese duke would bring off a brilliant diplomatic coup.

But Pisa was not the only Tuscan city in which Il Moro took an interest. He also bent his gaze on Siena; indeed, he made Siena a kind of special pet. He employed several Sienese as agents and maintained an ambassador in residence after 1495. Through regular correspondence, he kept himself well-informed of the complexities of Sienese politics and directed them as best he could along a road most favorable to Milanese interests. And his best was very good indeed. For his advice, his liberal purse, and his influence with other governments were of major importance in the rise of Pandolfo Petrucci. Pandolfo was no less than Lodovico's protégé, and in a very real sense Lodovico provided Pandolfo with the education of a prince.

Pandolfo had already begun to play an active rôle in politics before coming under the tutelage of Lodovico Sforza. Ambitious and energetic, he found his interest quickened and his talents challenged by the political opportunities of his time. Siena, in the mid-1490s, was just ending a

decade and a half of violent internal strife.[1] A series of revolutions beginning in 1480 and lasting fifteen years had broken the eighty-year coalition government and had culminated in victory for the *Nove* party. The *Nove* controlled the *Balìa*, the combined legislative and executive magistrature which for practical purposes had replaced the medieval *signoria* and councils as Siena's chief governing body, and thereby controlled the government. Other parties (there were five in all[2]), were represented in the powerful magistrature, as they had been before 1480, but now their political influence was slight. By mid-1493, the *Nove* had succeeded in establishing a quasi-oligarchy with authority so great as to enable them to prescribe stringent rules for its preservation.[3] However, though apparently supreme, this authority was without firm foundation, resting on a thorough knowledge of practical politics and the hired lances of a small army (ostensibly to guard the *palazzo pubblico*, but in fact to guard the *Nove*), rather than a significant superiority of numbers, wealth, ability, or popular support. The *Nove* could not ex-

[1] The best modern account of these revolutions is contained in E. G. Gardner, *The Story of Siena and San Gimignano* (London and New York, 1926); see also the detailed but uncritical narrative in G. A. Pecci, *Memorie storico-critiche della citta di Siena che servono alla vita civile di Pandolfo Petrucci dal MCCCCLXXX al MDXII* (Siena, 1755). The revolutions are chronicled by C. Cantoni, *Frammento di un diario senese (1479–83)* in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L. Muratori (new ed., Bologna, 1939), XV, pt. VI, and A. Allegretti, *Diario (1450–97)* in Muratori (old ed., Milan, 1733), XXIII.

[2] The five parties dated from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and their origins could be traced to the four socio-economic groups which struggled for domination of the Sienese government in those troubled years. The *Gentiluomini*, as their name implies, were the *grandi*, the petty feudal nobility who dwelt in the city. The *Nove* were the *popolo grasso*, rich merchants and bankers, the *Dodici* higher guildsmen, and the *Riformatori* and *Popolari* masters of the lower guilds. Each group had a turn at rule, but none had the inherent strength to dominate the others. A political compromise in which each was given a share in a coalition brought relative civic peace after 1403. It also contributed, together with profound changes in the Sienese economy, to reshape the character of the five parties, so that by the 1490s little of their original socio-economic tradition remained. The old designations and the old rivalries clung, however, though the reasons were obscured to contemporaries. On this subject see D. L. Hicks, 'Sienese Society in the Renaissance', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* II (1960), 412–420.

[3] The *Nove* made no pretense of their dominance. Of eight 'provisionaries' elected for the good of the city in July 1493, the *Nove* counted four and the other parties one each; see Archivio di Stato di Siena (hereafter ASS), Balìa, *Deliberazioni*, 37, 9 July 1493, p. 5bis. A decree a few days later declared: 'Non si possi fare proposto in alcune loco o collegio di diminuire o limitare o in tutto o in parte la plenaria auctorita dela balia; ne si possi tractare, proponare, rogare o consigliare di removere o revocare alcune deliberatione facta per lo dicto collegio. . . .' (*ibid.*, 13 Aug. 1492, pp. 24bis–25). The transcriptions in this and the following footnotes are reproduced exactly, including grammatical errors and linguistic peculiarities.

tinguish all opposition or halt a growing desire among many citizens to return to the friendly ways of true coalition government.[4]

The arrival of Charles VIII and the French army at the end of 1494 and the short French occupation six months later provided the forces of compromise with a unique opportunity. The *Nove*, fearful of losing everything (remember Piero de' Medici!) and vulnerable after the French captain banned their mercenaries from the city, hastened to grant concessions. The compromisers, representatives of all parties, even the *Nove*, demanded and received a greater share of public offices, the return of their exiles, and the passage of anti-oligarch legislation.[5] Events were climaxed in August 1495 by the appointment of a committee of the *Balìa*, in which the compromisers were prominent, with 'ample, full, and all-inclusive authority and *baliam* to examine and punish delinquents, to make provisions, and to issue orders for the good of the state . . .'.[6]

But the victory of compromise was not total, and the government was not a perfect coalition. Though broken, the *Nove*'s power was far from destroyed. They remained the dominant party, more than *primus inter pares*. In the spring of 1496, the Milanese ambassador reported to Lodovico that the *Nove* 'governa el tutto',[7] a somewhat oversimplified view, but indicative of opinion. At the same time, the *Nove* governed more moderately and in a spirit of greater coöperation than before. The compromisers seem to have been satisfied, and Siena returned once more to relative civic peace.[8] Party members turned their thoughts to

[4] The extent and character of the opposition are described in G. Tommasi, *Seconda Deca delle storie di Siena* (MS. of work written between 1599 and 1604, located in ASS), II, bk. VII, cols. 233–234. Tommasi relies heavily on Allegretti, but adds details apparently drawn from sources no longer in existence.

[5] The interparty negotiations and their results are described by Allegretti, cols. 836–842, and in ASS, Concistoro, *Deliberazioni*, 771, 20 Mar. 1494 [1495], pp. 7–8, and Consiglio generale, *Deliberazioni*, 240, 9 Mar. 1494 [1495], p. 283, and 18–19 Mar. 1494 [1495], pp. 283bis–284bis.

[6] Allegretti (cols. 850–852) and S. Tizio, in his *Historiae Senenses* (MS. copy of a work written about 1520, located in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze), IV, bk. XIII, pp. 377–379, relate the events leading up to the appointment of the committee. The quotation is drawn from ASS, Consiglio generale, *Deliberazioni*, 241, 5 Aug. 1495, p. 15bis.

[7] The ambassador was Antonio Stanga. His letter is dated 13 May 1496 and is found in the Archivio di Stato di Milano (hereafter ASM), Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1263.

[8] This emerges clearly from the *Deliberazioni* of the *Balìa* and the other government bodies. Now regular business could be done. Most exiles returned or their sentences were lightened. In 1497–1498, a series of laws were passed which confirmed an earlier law of

other matters, to foreign affairs and to the threat—or the blessing—of a new factor in Sienese politics, Pandolfo Petrucci.[9]

Pandolfo was counted among the compromisers in the new regime. Though a *Nove* himself, he apparently saw the wave of the future, aligning himself with the group that would best assure Siena peace and himself an opportunity for advancement. He had been admitted to *Balìa* membership in April 1495, having previously devoted most of his energies to private business and to administration of the *Nove*'s band of mercenaries.[10] If this peculiar preparation did not fit him for immediate political leadership, it provided him with two indispensable tools for future use: a small personal fortune to be spent as needed and a body of troops which came to owe their loyalty not to Siena or to the *Nove* party but to him. As Pandolfo gained in prestige and influence, he made the most of his money and his troops. His method and its effectiveness were described by one of Lodovico Sforza's Sienese agents toward the end of the year 1497:

> . . . the rule and management [of Siena] are in the hands of Messer Antonio Bichi, Messer Niccolo Borghesi [two leaders of the *Nove* party] and Pandolfo Petrucci. Pandolfo possesses greater authority than the others, and the principal reason is that years ago he was given responsibility for finding money and paying the infantry of the guard. . . . And for these reasons, those of the *Nove* party who would like to depose him are not able . . . especially since he has the infantry of the guard at his command.[11]

1494 and gave formal recognition to the five parties as the sole instruments through which the citizens could be represented in their government. See ASS, Balìa, *Deliberazioni*, 40, 29–30 Nov. 1497, pp. 9–10bis; 14 Dec. 1497, pp. 21bis–22; 4 Jan. 1497 [1498], pp. 39bis–41.

[9] There is no satisfactory published account of Pandolfo's life. Pecci must be read with a critical eye. U. G. Mondolfo, *Pandolfo Petrucci, Signore di Siena* (Siena, 1899) is brief and inaccurate on his early life, but good on his diplomatic activities after 1496, though lacking reference to the important dispatches of the Milanese ambassador. See also D. L. Hicks, *The Rise of Pandolfo Petrucci* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of History, Columbia University, 1959).

[10] A good insight into Pandolfo's successful business dealings may be gained by an examination of his *denunzie di beni*, reports of real and personal property. These are found in ASS, Lira, *Denunzie di beni*, 230 (1498), bundle 11 and 235 (1509), bundle 9. The earliest evidence of his connection with the mercenaries is June 1494, when the *Balìa* passed two edicts, one reimbursing him for pay he advanced to 'one hundred *provisionati*' and the other assigning him their 'curam et gubernationem'; see ASS, Balìa, *Deliberazioni*, 37, 1 & 5 June 1494, pp. 157 bis, 158.

[11] The letter containing this quotation is badly spotted and torn, but the words of the quotation itself are fairly clear: '. . . el regimento e manegio e in Messer Antonio Bichi, Messer Niccolo Borghesi e Pandolfo Petrucci. Questo Pandolfo fa piu che nessuno degli

Machiavelli agreed. Analyzing Pandolfo's career in the *Discourses*, he wrote: Pandolfo 'returned with the other exiles to Siena [in 1487], where he was appointed to the command of the guard of the government palace, a subordinate employ which others refused. Nevertheless, this command gave him in time such influence that he became prince of the state.'[12]

But it was not so simple as this. Obviously, Pandolfo's possession of a private army was a distinct advantage to him. And his money, besides personal security, gave him the wherewithal for discreet bribery and a means to buy his troops' loyalty. But he chose a subtler way to power than by force of arms. Indeed, though several times he prepared—unwillingly—to employ force as a last resort, circumstances never required him to do so. This was as he wished. Always he preferred persuasion to threats, guile to lances. His army he used to maintain civic peace, to create an atmosphere in which his acumen could flourish—certainly a more effective method than coercion and more lasting in its results. But only because Pandolfo possessed high intelligence and extraordinary personal magnetism, and had trained himself thoroughly in the art of politics and diplomacy, was this method open to him. A lesser man would have rammed his policies down his opponents' throats at swordpoint and brought further domestic strife to Siena and failure upon himself.

But all this Pandolfo had to learn. Toward the end of 1494, early still in his political career, he was looked upon as 'massimo . . . essere persona animoso e scandaloso da precipitare', a hothead who wished to 'far novita'.[13] Clearly, he needed seasoning and further training, though, as later events prove, his instincts were sound. After he entered the *Balìa*, he became one of Siena's most active public men, serving on committees whose business ranged from taxes to treason. Throughout, he followed a course dictated by political opportunism, refusing to adhere submissively to the rigid and obviously outdated program of his *Nove* party. In this way, he gained experience, maturity, and prestige.

---

altri e la principale cagione e che piu hanni sonno li fu dato il manegio di trovare [denaro] e pagare li fanti della guardia. . . . E per questi cagioni ancora che [quelli] dell'ordine suo de Nove lo volessino disponere non potreno . . . avendo massime li fanti della guardia a sua requesta. . . .' (Giovanni Malavolti to Lodovico Sforza, 15 Nov. 1497, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1264).

[12] *Discorsi*, bk. III, chap. VIII.

[13] Filippo Valori to Piero de' Medici, 17 Oct. 1494; quoted in Mondolfo, p. 17.

Meanwhile, he studied, with even more intensity, the intricacies of diplomacy. For Pandolfo knew—he must have known, so often had it been demonstrated in Italy of the Renaissance—that preëminence in the field of foreign affairs was the chief attribute of a prince, more important as a stepping stone to leadership than a knowledge of domestic problems and their solutions, however profound. Therefore, he studied diplomacy, learning by cautious practice in his official capacity as a *Balìa* member and by listening patiently to his good friend the Milanese ambassador, as he relayed the advice and guidance of his famous master.

Pandolfo could hardly have chosen a better teacher than the Duke of Milan. Not only was he Italy's busiest, but probably also her most skilled, diplomat. His words were worth heeding. Moreover, his friendship could open the doors of other governments for Pandolfo and would be a powerful weapon in Siena's factional wars, while his money would serve as a welcome supplement to Pandolfo's own for paying the palace guard and hiring additional troops if necessary. At the same time, the duke was far enough away to allow Pandolfo to exercise some freedom of action. All in all, an excellent arrangement. Nor was it a bad one for Lodovico. As Pandolfo's influence grew, Siena would more and more follow the Milanese lead in foreign policy, in time becoming a Milanese outpost in Tuscany, albeit a relatively weak one, from which to send out diplomatic forays against Florence, Pisa, or any other of the central Italian powers.

Pandolfo's relationship with Lodovico seems to have begun in early 1495, at a time when the duke's interest was turned from negotiations concerning the Holy Alliance by the threat of a Sienese-Florentine war. The two republics, traditional rivals, overlooked no opportunity to do each other an injury, and when the small southern Tuscan commune of Montepulciano declared itself independent of Florence in March and asked Siena's protection, the *Balìa* quickly accepted.[14] And Lodovico was pleased to assist in the hire of *condottieri* to lend weight to the acceptance.[15] Pandolfo was doubtless among those 'much inclined to incite war against Florence, stimulated and urged on by the ducal ambassa-

[14] Mondolfo, pp. 28 ff. Further details are to be found in a letter from Giovanni Malavolti to Lodovico Sforza, 26 Mar. 1495, in ASM Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1263. The treaty between Montepulciano and Siena is found in ASS, Capitoli, *Caleffi*, no. 216, 4 Apr. 1495.

[15] Pier Giovanni Ricasoli to *Dieci di Balìa*, in Archivio di Stato di Firenze (hereafter ASF), Dieci di Balìa, *Responsive*, 40, no. 306.

dor . . .'.[16] By the following year, he was perhaps the chief supporter of Lodovico in Siena, or so testified a Florentine agent, who wrote his government that 'Pandolfo has given himself body and soul to the Signor Lodovico . . .'.[17] So too the Milanese ambassador, who assured the duke of Pandolfo's affection, adding shrewdly that 'I observe in him a desire to increase his own power in this way'.[18] This, of course, was the point. As Milan's best friend, Pandolfo had assumed leadership of the strong Milanese faction in the Sienese government by the spring of 1496. This was the faction with which most members of the *Balìa* sympathized. Meanwhile, the opposition was forced to commit itself to the less popular pro-Florentine policy.

Pandolfo's dependence on Milanese support grew as his influence in the Sienese government grew. In June 1496 he tried to strengthen the informal tie between the two states by a treaty of alliance. His failure brought him momentary panic, as a Florentine observer wrote:

> Yesterday about 40 citizens met in the *Palazzo* to discuss the alliance and could not reach a decision, but for the most part argued heatedly against joining the league. And I have been told there was great dissention over this. For which reason, the principal citizens showed themselves much disturbed and especially Pandolpho, who yesterday evening was seen in his house weeping from the heart and uttering words of hopelessness.[19]

But there was nothing for him to fear. Lodovico continued to supply money to hire soldiers and to help Pandolfo pay his small personal army, a total of 20,000 ducats in 1496.[20] The Sienese, for their part, maintained a benevolent attitude toward the exiled Piero de' Medici

[16] A. Bracci, in a letter to the *Dieci di Balìa* (25 May 1495, in ASF, Dieci di Balìa, *Responsive*, 41, no. 278), thus seems to describe Pandolfo and several other citizens. The quotation reads: 'molto inclinati a muovere guerra alle sue vostre stimolati et invitati dallo imbassatore ducale . . .'.

[17] '. . . Pandolfo se e dato in anima et corpo al S. Lodivico . . .' (A. Bracci to *Dieci di Balìa*, 11 May 1496, in ASF, Dieci di Balìa, *Responsive*, 47, no. 136).

[18] 'Comprendo in lui desidero de volersene a largere . . .' (Antonio Stanga to Lodovico Sforza, 29 May 1496, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1263).

[19] '. . . Ieri si raunarono in Palazzo circa 40 ciptidini e quali non se ne accordarono, ma per la piu parte fu vivante contradecto el colegharsi. Et per questo mi sia referito vi fu grande dissentioni. Onde quelli principali se ne mostrono molto turbati maxime Pandolpho che iersera in casa sua fu visto piangiere cordialmente usando parole de disperati . . .' (Bindaccio Ricasoli to *Dieci di Balìa*, 2 June 1496, in ASF, Dieci di Balìa, *Responsive*, 48, no. 17).

[20] Lodovico Sforza to the Sienese *Balìa*, 23 Mar. 1496, and Antonio Stanga to Lodovico Sforza, 4 July 1496, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1263.

and the Pisan rebels, sending several loads of grain to the port city at Milan's request.[21] And of Pandolfo, Lodovico's ambassador reported smugly in September 1496: in him resides 'the major share of the present government, and he determines most of the policies of the republic'.[22] And in December: 'Pandolfo . . . has the management of almost everything in this city, and he has been and is the leader of the friends and devoted servants of Your Excellency.'[23]

Both reports are somewhat exaggerated. Pandolfo's hold on the government at this time was still tenuous, as in a legal sense it would always be, for he was and would remain no more than a spokesman for a majority of the *Balìa*. In time, this majority would expand and solidify into a completely dependable bloc of loyal supporters, but in late 1496 it was new and unstable, its members still uncertain of themselves and of Pandolfo. Needed was a clear political victory, an official mandate, that would demonstrate Pandolfo's personal influence and prestige and permit him to advance his foreign policies with good hope of success.

The opportunity arose in November 1497, when the term of the current *Balìa* ran out. Under the watchful eye of the Milanese ambassador, Pandolfo campaigned hard to have the membership reëlected by the Council of the People for another five years, leaving his majority intact. From Milan came suggestions and words of encouragement.[24] He won, but it was far from easy, for, as the report to Lodovico explained, the necessary authority from the council was slow in coming:

> Pandolfo and Your Excellency's other friends who wished the government constituted in this way were fearful that it would be necessary to come to terms by force of arms. . . . However, events progressed and with ingeniousness and dexterity, and without force and threats of arms, . . . the *Baylia* [*sic*] was renewed with full authority and power for five years, confirming Pandolfo and the other old officials in office.[25]

[21] See especially Antonio Stanga to Lodovico Sforza, 29 Apr. 1496, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1263 and correspondence with the Florentine *Dieci di Balìa*.

[22] 'Pandolfo . . . consirvisse la maior parte del presente governo et che dispone assai de le cosse de questa Republica . . . (Antonio Stanga to Lodovico Sforza, 7 Sept. 1496, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1263).

[23] 'Pandolfo el quale si como in questa citta ha quasi el manegio de tutte cosse et quello che e stato et e principal Capo de tutti li amici servatori et devoti de Vostra Eccellenzia' (Antonio Stanga to Lodovico Sforza, 16 Dec. 1496, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1263).

[24] See the letter of 12 Nov. 1497 from Lodovico to C. Guaschi, in which the duke urged that matters be settled peaceably (ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1264).

[25] 'Pandolfo et li altri amici de la Vostra Eccellentia che voleno el governo in questo

Most interesting and most significant was Pandolfo's reluctance to use his mercenaries, for he certainly had them behind him. No longer the hothead of three years before, he could now overcome a concerted effort by the 'Florentines to win over the vast number of the 45 deputies' to the *Balìa* entirely by persuasion, cajolery, and reasoned argument.[26] He knew—and if he ever doubted, the Milanese ambassador was quick to remind him[27]—that a regime made by force would have to be maintained by force. So, instead, he relied on his personality and his brains and achieved a far more firm and lasting victory.

Pandolfo's next step was to secure the management of Sienese foreign affairs, and once again the Duke of Milan, in the person of his good ambassador, stood at Pandolfo's side. Using his own rapidly growing knowledge of diplomacy, Lodovico's influence and wisdom, and a fortunate series of events, Pandolfo arranged a treaty of peace with the Republic of Florence in the fall of 1498. In so doing, he established himself at home and abroad as Siena's foreign policy spokesman, at the same time assuring himself of another government's sympathy to his personal ambitions and cementing further his close ties with Milan. This, of course, was the sort of firm diplomatic commitment the duke had been seeking all along. He was so pleased that he promoted his ambassador to the highly influential post at Rome.[28]

Lodovico was the moving spirit behind the treaty. By 1498, he had turned from his alliance with Venice—and with Piero de' Medici and the Pisan rebels—and had made peace with the Florentines. Siena and Florence, meanwhile, were still contesting indecisively over Montepulciano, as they had been since 1495, Siena with the bulk of its comparatively meager resources and Florence with what it could spare from the Pisan campaign. The contest was beginning to wear on the Sienese by 1498. They had sunk a great deal of money into their small adventure in im-

---

modo dubitavano de essere necessitati ad venire ad termini de farla cum le arme. . . . Nondimeno se e maturato la cosa et cum ingenio et dextereza senza forza et minacie darme . . . si e reformata la Baylia cum la solita auctorita et possanza per anni cinque proximi confirmando in epso officio pandolfo et li altri officiali vechii . . .' (C. Guaschi to Lodovico Sforza, 22 Nov. 1497, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1264). Guaschi was the new Milanese ambassador.

[26] The letter continues: '. . . la intentione di Fiorentini per compire al numero vasto de li 45 deputati ad epso officio'.

[27] Guaschi told Lodovico in the above-cited letter: 'Se e facto ogni diligentia per farla reuscire senza violentia al che sempre ho exhortato Pandolfo et li altri amici'.

[28] Guaschi was promoted in Apr. 1499.

perialism, most of it raised through forced loans, and they were financially exhausted. As the Milanese ambassador wrote: 'this situation is unusual and most displeasing generally to the citizens; they do not like to remain thus for so long, letting themselves be consumed by a slow fever which is neither peace nor war'.[29] At the same time, they were starved for prestige and obdurate in their intention to keep Montepulciano for themselves. 'All members of the *Balìa* and all the city are firm in this opinion', Pandolfo was reported as saying.[30] Thus Lodovico had placed Pandolfo and the pro-Milanese faction in a most difficult position. Taking their lead from their mentor, they for years had been generating hatred for Florence and sympathy for Piero and Pisa. Suddenly, they found themselves advocating some sort of treaty with the old enemy, a course hardly calculated to meet with a favorable climate of opinion.

Though faced with an awkward situation, Pandolfo doubtless welcomed Lodovico's treaty proposal as a chance to gain a new friend. Indeed, he had already been prominent among representatives attending several futile meetings with the Florentines to discuss Montepulciano, and he continued to press for some sort of agreement even after negotiations had reached a stalemate.[31] And he did so not only to please the Duke of Milan. The ducal ambassador, who had come to know Pandolfo well by this time, understood the reason: '. . . he holds the belief that he should keep his people in some predicament, from which proceeds his profit and his greatness. And thus perhaps he realizes that to gain this end it will be necessary that this city be in concord with the Florentines.'[32] The Florentine ambassador agreed: 'His Magnificence [Pandolfo]

[29] '. . . la quel cosa e insolita et molto dispiace generalmente a cittadini; si che per loro non si fa el stare longamente ad questo modo et lassarsi consumare da questa Febre lenta non essendo ne in guerra ne in pace' (C. Guaschi to Lodovico Sforza, 21 Mar. 1498, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1265).

[30] '. . . tutti quelli di balia et tuta la citta e [*sic*] firmata in questo pensiero' (Julius Cattaneus to Lodovico Sforza, 5 May 1498, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1265). Giulio Cataneo came to Siena from Milan for a few days to announce Lodovico's new Florentine policy and urge Siena's participation.

[31] In the fall of 1496, six citizens, among whom was Pandolfo, were elected by the *Balìa* with authority to conclude a treaty with Florence, not to include restoration of Montepulciano; see ASS, Balìa, *Deliberazioni*, 39, 26 Sept. 1496, p. 16. Pandolfo had several inconclusive conversations with a Florentine representative on the same subjects in early 1497; see Antonio Guidotti da Colle to *Dieci di Balìa*, 11 Jan. 1496 [1497], in ASF, Dieci di Balìa, *Responsive*, 45, nos. 94, 95. For details, see Mondolfo, pp. 35 ff.

[32] '. . . cede ad suo proposito tenere questo popolo in qualche necessita, da la quale procede lo emolumento et grandeza sua. Et anche forse perche comprende che ad venire

seeks to be prince of this state . . ., which goal he knows he is not able to reach without the favor and knowledge of [Florence].'[33] Florentine support would be most helpful. It would effectively frustrate his enemies in and out of Siena, who for years had sought and occasionally received aid from Florence. It would also constitute an additional source of power to counterbalance and perhaps replace Milan should Lodovico lose his patrimony (something to consider after the accession of Louis XII).[34] Under the circumstances, Pandolfo seems to have been willing to grant large concessions, even the return of Montepulciano, over whose fate he was apparently quite indifferent. But in view of Sienese public opinion, there was little he could do except press discreetly for the treaty, pledge his undying loyalty to Lodovico (while dunning him for more money to pay mercenaries),[35] and hope for good fortune to come to his rescue.

Good fortune arrived in August 1498, and none too soon, for the opposition was winning adherents. The opposition leaders were two *Nove* elder statesmen, Niccolo Borghesi, Pandolfo's father-in-law, and Leonardo Bellanti, Pandolfo's old friend and business associate. These two had led their party's earlier battle for oligarchy, had been outmaneuvered by Pandolfo and the other compromisers, and now saw in their rival's personal ambitions a final defeat. Their method was simply to stand against Pandolfo on everything; this time they roundly condemned both Milan and Florence and advocated a treaty with Venice instead. In April, Niccolo was elected ambassador to Venice ('so as not to

---

ad tal segno saria necessario che questa citta correspondesse a signori Fiorentini . . .' (C. Guaschi to Lodovico Sforza, 23 Oct. 1498, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1265).

[33] '. . . sua Mtia tende al principato di questo stato . . ., qual disegno conosce non gli puo riuscire sanza il favore et intelligencia di vostri signori' (Antonio Guidotti da Colle to *Dieci di Balìa*, 15 Sept. 1498, in ASF, Dieci di Balìa, *Responsive*, 58, no. 201). Guidotti, who had reported on Sienese affairs to the Florentine government for several years, arrived as resident ambassador in August 1498.

[34] During his negotiations with Florence in early 1497, Pandolfo told the Florentine representative '. . . che non vogliava di non havere con Milano tenuti strecti pratiche contro [Florence], ma hormai di quello signore ne era satio', words which doubtless signified more than diplomatic double-dealing; see Antonio Guidotti da Colle to *Dieci di Balìa*, 11 Jan. 1496 [1497], in ASF, Dieci di Balìa, *Responsive*, 45, no. 95.

[35] Guaschi told Lodovico that Pandolfo needed cash to pay the *condottiere* Antonio Maria da San Severino and the 'ordinario de la Guardia' (Pandolfo's mercenaries). At the same time: 'De novo mi ha confirmato cum molte parole efficace como delibera vivere et morire sotto al segno et devotione de la eccellentia vostra' (letter of 31 May 1498, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1265).

give material for new discord', was Pandolfo's excuse[36]). And when the Venetian emissary came to Siena a month later to plead his cause, Lodovico was informed that 'he went immediately to the house of Messer Nicolo [*sic*] Borghesi who is Your Excellency's enemy'.[37] The measure of the opposition's success was the continued obstinacy of the Sienese negotiators. Pandolfo's efforts to soften Sienese terms were unavailing, and he was deeply discouraged. In early August, he warned the Milanese ambassador that unless the Florentines made additional concessions, he might have to take up 'arms and achieve by force what cannot be achieved through amicable agreement and votes'.[38] No sooner had Pandolfo uttered this dark warning than word arrived that the combined armies of Piero de' Medici and the Venetians were seeking right of passage through the Sienese *contado* on the way to relieve Pisa. This shook the Florentines as the question of Montepulciano had never done. Yielding to Lodovico's urgent request, they sent an ambassador to Siena with instructions to go to Pandolfo Petrucci, 'showing [him] your commission to negotiate with the *Balìa* in the way and form which he approves'.[39] Pandolfo's terms were hard ones—it would not do for the opposition to outdo him in patriotic zeal. He suggested their acceptance be assured through a bit of quiet bribery, 'provisions' amounting to

[36] '. . . per non dare materia per novi tempramenti' (C. Guaschi to Lodovico Sforza, 4 Apr. 1498, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1265).

[37] '. . . e subito . . . anda a casa di M. Nicolo Borghesi el quale e nemico di Vostra Excellentia' (Antonio Maria [da San Severino] to Lodovico Sforza, 14 May 1498, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1265).

[38] Guaschi reported Pandolfo's thoughts to Lodovico: 'Ma non potendosi altro che per la observantia de la Fede data non sono per mutare opinione, et quando pur la eccellentia vostra voglia et habia a coro che questa Tregua si concluda como si e scripta pigliarano le Arme in mano et [farano] per forza quello che ameravolmente et per via de Lupini non si puo tirare; dicendo che questa e la loro ultima conclusione et de li amici et che pregano la eccellentia vostra ad persuadere a Fiorentini che non vogliano essere obstinati in questa minima cosa per el loro beneficio et per conservatione de questa citta . . .' (letter of 10 Aug. 1498, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1265).

During these weeks, Lodovico wrote several letters to his ambassador containing words of comfort and encouragement for Pandolfo and 'li amici' and assuring them that he was doing his utmost to soften the hearts of the Florentines. His letters also show that he was visited in June by Pandolfo's private secretary, Antonio da Venafro, and that the two men talked of a number of diplomatic problems, including the problem of the alliance. See ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1265, *passim*.

[39] The instructions read: '. . . demostrando ad Pandolfo havere commissione de noi di exponere alla balia nel modo et forma che paresi ad lui' (*Dieci di Balìa* to Antonio Guidotti da Colle, 12 Aug. 1498, in ASF, Dieci di Balìa, *Legazioni e Commissarie, Istruzioni e lettere missive*, 21, pp. 161–161bis).

three thousand ducats, to secure fifteen more votes in the *Balìa*.[40] He also demanded a promise that Florence detail a body of troops to Poggio Imperiale near Siena for protection should Piero and the Venetians decide to march unbidden and to serve as a supplement to his own mercenaries should ratification of the treaty by constitutional means prove impossible.[41]

This last appears to have been Pandolfo at his most prudent, for the Florentines were amenable now to almost anything the Sienese desired, and the opposition's arguments melted in the warmth of new-found accord. Nevertheless, the 'provisions' and the troops were promised, and by the end of the first week in September Pandolfo was able to report that he had 'reduced the opinions of the citizens to good terms'.[42] Borghesi and Bellanti surrendered even before a vote was taken. Lodovico's ambassador described the scene to him:

> The business of the treaty is going well and [Borghesi and Bellanti], who were heads of the Venetian faction, are much appeased as they demonstrated yesterday evening when they came with Pandolpho to visit the Florentine emissary and me . . .; and I believe . . . that the conclusion will be made quickly and without discord . . ., especially since Pandolpho has about 500 infantry together with troops of the guard and some 150 men-at-arms . . . at his disposal, so that either by Love or by Force this blessed accord will be ratified.[43]

Events occurred as predicted. The Council of the People, 'with great unanimity', granted the *Balìa* authority to conclude the treaty, at the same time leaving the magistrature the job of refusing passage through

[40] Antonio Guidotti da Colle to *Dieci di Balìa*, 13 & 24 Aug. and 2 & 5 Sept. 1498, in ASF, Dieci di Balìa, *Responsive*, 58, nos. 159, 174, 180, 185. The 'provisions' from Florence, which also included a quantity of grain, remained only promises at the time the treaty was signed, and some of the troops were hired on expectation of further funds from Milan.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] 'Pandolfo . . . ha facto intendere havere reducti li animi de Cittadini a buoni termini' (Antonio Guidotti da Colle to *Dieci di Balìa*, 8 Sept. 1498, in ASF, Dieci di Balìa, *Responsive*, 58, no. 188).

[43] 'Le cose de la tregua sono ad boni termini et M. Nicolo Borgese et M. Leonardo Belanti quali erano Capi de questa factione Venetiana sono molto mittigati si come demonstrarono hierisera essendo venuti insieme cum Pandolpho al mandatario Fiorentino et a me . . . et credo . . . che la conclusione si fara vivamente et senza scandolo . . ., maxime havendo Pandolpho qui circha 500 Fanti computati qualli de la guardia et circha homini darme 150 . . . puo disponere, si che o per Amore o per Forza bisogna che questo benedecto accordo segua' (C. Guaschi to Lodovico Sforza, 12 Sept. 1498, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1265).

the *contado* to Piero de' Medici and the Venetians.[44] The treaty was signed 14 September and was everything the Sienese desired. For the Florentines it meant merely a measure of safety against foreign intervention in their Pisan war.[45] The Duke of Milan and the pope agreed to act as the treaty's 'keepers'.[46]

With the conclusion of the treaty, Lodovico's services to Pandolfo virtually ceased. But the Milanese ambassador—joined now by the Florentine ambassador—remained in Siena, and Pandolfo remained true to the Milanese cause. The duke's attention was now centered on France and on his crumbling alliance system, and Pandolfo was obliged to continue on his own. By now he was well prepared. His domination of Sienese domestic affairs was reasonably secure; he could handle vestiges of opposition in his own way. Though in legal terms no more than a political 'boss', in practice his loyal *Balìa* majority and his mercenaries assured him a position equal to that of Cosimo *pater patriae* in Florence two generations before. In foreign affairs, he alone spoke for his government, like Cosimo establishing and executing policy with little regard for constitutional formalities. Indeed, his diplomatic skill—and if skill can be measured by success, he came to surpass Lodovico—earned him his greatest prestige at home and abroad and was the source of his honorific title, usually applied by visiting ambassadors, of 'il Magnifico'. Though his authority would increase still more as time passed, already Pandolfo fulfilled the requirements of that peculiarly Italian institution, the 'prince'.

Pandolfo's achievement was his own, but Lodovico's contribution was of immense importance. For more than three years, Lodovico provided the education of a prince. He offered advice and encouragement, set an example, and perhaps most important laid a restraining hand on Pandolfo's apparent tendency to violent action. He developed Pandolfo's high potential with remarkable effectiveness. And the pupil's continued devotion to the master until the end was evidence enough of his indebtedness, for it certainly brought him no additional benefits. To the

[44] Details are contained in letters from Antonio Guidotti da Colle to *Dieci di Balìa*, 12 Sept. 1498 (in ASF, Dieci di Balìa, *Responsive*, 58, no. 193) and C. Guaschi to Lodovico Sforza, 12 Sept. 1498 (in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1265). The decision of the council is found in ASS, Consiglio generale, *Deliberazioni*, 241, 12 Sept. 1498, pp. 43–43bis.

[45] The treaty is in ASS, Capitoli, No. 219.

[46] This is one of the clauses of the treaty.

peril of the new Florentine alliance, Pandolfo made several gestures toward helping the Pisan rebels at Lodovico's request.[47] To the peril of the still newer French alliance, he had the *Balìa* vote secretly to send 4,000 ducats to Milan after the duke's brief return in February 1500.[48] Considering these things, there can be little doubt that Pandolfo's emotion was sincere when he heard of Lodovico's imminent downfall at the hands of Louis XII:

> I am not able to express to Your Excellency [wrote the ambassador] how great is the heartache and anxiety in this city among important people and unimportant people alike, who weep over the troubles and difficulties in which Your Excellency finds yourself.[49]

Columbia University DAVID L. HICKS

[47] See, for example, Agostino Maria de Beccaria to Lodovico Sforza, 1 July 1499, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1266. De Beccaria replaced Guaschi in April 1499.

[48] See ASS, Capitoli, No. 221.

[49] 'Non poria exprimere a la vostra eccellentia in quanto cardoglio et anxieta sia quasi tutta questa citta cosi grandi come picoli li quali piangono li affarii et travaglii in li quali la excellentia vostra si trova' (Antonio Maria de Beccaria to Lodovico Sforza, 31 Aug. 1499, in ASM, Carteggio Sforzesco, *Estero, Siena*, 1266).

Erasmus and France: the Propaganda for Peace

HE reputation of Erasmus in the period after his death has been the object of considerable interest in recent years following the impression made by Marcel Bataillon's *Érasme et l'Espagne* (Paris, 1937) and, more recently, by Andreas Flitner's essay *Erasmus im Urteil seiner Nachwelt* (Tübingen, 1952).[1] The vicissitudes of an influence felt to be important, yet at the same time widely suspect, is something of a critical index to European moral sentiment. It is clear also that the reception of this influence has differed with the climate of opinion from country to country as well as from time to time, and it would seem desirable to fill up the outline, so admirably sketched by Flitner, at points where our present information is relatively thin. One such point is to be found in France in the latter part of the sixteenth century. To this broad subject, however, the following pages aim to make only a limited, though material, contribution by calling attention to some adaptations and translations of the *Dulce bellum inexpertis* and the *Querela Pacis* that have hitherto been overlooked. These items may be considered as supplementing in particular the 'Notes sur quelques traductions d'Érasme en français' which form the appendix to Dr. Margaret Mann Phillips' *Érasme et les débuts de la réforme française* (Paris, 1934). Dr. Phillips' list includes, as a matter of fact, no translations of the *Bellum* or the *Querela*.

Let it be said at once that none of the books here considered is a straightforward and professed translation of the whole of either of the works in question. No. 4, *Les Louanges et recommandations de la paix*, is nothing but a translation from the *Bellum*, but it renders only selected passages. No. 5, Sevin's *Complainte de la paix*, our most important discovery, presents the whole of the *Querela*, but in the form of an adapta-

[1] See also G. J. de Voogd, *Erasmus en Grotius* (Leiden, 1947); A. Renaudet, 'L'héritage d'Érasme', *Rivista di Letterature moderne* I (1950), 1–30; Pierre Mesnard, 'La Tradition érasmienne', *BHR* XV (1953), 359–366.

tion rather than a translation. In nos. 2 and 3, Claude Colet's *Oraison de Mars* and Guillaume Aubert's *Oraison de la paix*, considerable portions of the *Bellum* are translated, while other passages of the *Bellum* or of the *Querela* are assimilated without literal translation. No. 1, Clichtove's *De Bello et pace opusculum*, takes topic after topic from Erasmus, but the developments are mostly Clichtove's own. I have included Clichtove's attractive little book not only because it depends on Erasmus, but also because I believe that, though it had only one edition, it had some influence in transmitting these Erasmian topics to writers of the more popularly-directed pleas for peace, in particular to writers of poems and literary orations. Such writings, especially poems on peace, are numerous in sixteenth-century France, and in scanning them one finds oneself with a certain frequency in the presence of Erasmian topics and images.[2] This more general influence will form part of another study; we are concerned here only with some actual translations which show in their own way how Erasmus continued to play a part in the discussion of peace during the quarter century after his death.[3]

What strikes us first perhaps is that this rôle is anonymous and surreptitious.[4] Whereas more recent writers sometimes place peace under the patronage, so to speak, of Erasmus' name, Erasmus' name was precisely the stumbling block in the sixteenth century. In the five books here discussed as taken wholly or in part from him, his name does not once appear. In fact, the reader is deliberately put upon a false scent. The *Louanges* are said to be 'extraictes de l'Écriture saincte'; Sevin's *Complainte de la paix* is 'recueillie de plusieurs auteurs' (which is false); Aubert professes to be the interpreter of 'les plus renommés auteurs des langues

[2] Among orations permeated with Erasmian influence, I note Richard Pace, *Oratio in pace nuperrima composita* (London, Pynson, and Paris, Gourmont, 1518), with a French version, *Oraison en la louenge de la paix*, published by Gourmont at the same time; and [Jacques Peletier,] *Cohortatio pacificatoria* (Lyons, De Tournes, 1555) (see *BHR* XXII, 1960, 302–319). Among poems, in varying degrees influenced by Erasmus, François Sagon, *Chant de la Paix* (Paris, 1538, 1544, etc.); Pierre Habert, *Traicté du bien et utilité de la paix* (Paris, 1568, 1570); Antoine du Verdier, *Antitheses de la paix et de la guerre* (Lyons, 1568), dependent on Clichtove rather than on Erasmus; anon., *Advertissemens aux trois Estatz sur l'entretenement de la paix* (Paris, Tabert, 1576). See also below, p. 116.

[3] I have not followed the fortunes of the *Bellum* or the *Querela* outside of the propaganda for peace, but may note that the section 'Misères des soldats et gens de guerre' in P. Boaistuau's *Le Théâtre du monde* (1558) is in part translated from the *Bellum*.

[4] Cf. Dr. Phillips' article, 'Erasmus and Propaganda, a study of the translations of Erasmus in English and French', *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XXXVII (1942), 1–17, where, however, p. 5, the point is made only with reference to the earlier translations of Louis de Berquin.

étrangers'. Not even Colet can be absolved. We do not expect him to mention Erasmus in a poem; but he fills his margins with references to authorities, among which his chief authority Erasmus is conspicuously absent. Nor does Clichtove mention Erasmus, whose friend he had been. Clichtove wrote with his eye upon the Sorbonne, with whose strictures, however, he was in any case in agreement. The later books, falling between 1544 and 1570, belong to the moral atmosphere of the Council of Trent and the indices, but are yet within a twilight zone compared with the obscurity that followed the latter date. I have found no translations from the *Bellum* or the *Querela* after 1570.

It would be interesting to know by whom and within what limits the name of Erasmus was invoked after say 1559. The only one of his works to be continuously reissued in France was the harmless but useful *Apophthegmata*, and it alone appeared in translation under the author's name several times between 1543 and 1574 (but not between 1557 and 1574).[5] Montaigne mentions Erasmus only once: those who have performed some impressive public act are imagined by us in accordance with it, demons as of wild shape, Tamerlane as a monster, Erasmus as uttering nothing but adages and apophthegms.[6] Such was Montaigne's picture, or the picture he knew his readers would respond to—the author of apophthegms. Larger claims have been made for Montaigne's dependence on Erasmus, but these remain to be proved, as do other claims for Erasmus' influence in this period.[7] The time was yet far off when Guy Patin would make a cult of 'le divin Érasme', 'l'incomparable Érasme'. Still, in the nature of the case, the influence of Erasmus was doubtless greater than the tangible evidence shows. The manipulations of his text with which we are concerned suggest indeed that the common reader was not likely to recognize their source; but Aubert and Sevin at least must surely have expected the more learned reader to see what they were up to.

[5] M. M. Phillips, *Érasme et les débuts*, pp. 204–208. Exceptional is a professed translation (*ibid.*, p. 203) of the suspect *De Esu carnium* (Lyons, no name of printer, 1561) by one Robert Prevost (a Protestant?), who was also the translator of Sleidan.

[6] *Essais* III, 2: 'Qui m'eut faict voir Erasme autrefois, il eust esté malaisé que ie n'eusse pris pour adages et apohtegmes tout ce qu'il eut dict à son valet et à son hostesse.'

[7] Pierre Villey, *Les Sources et l'évolution des Essais de Montaigne*, I, 126, records a possible echo of the *Querela Pacis*. Renaudet, *art. cit.*, accepts Montaigne as Erasmian in spirit; says that after the St. Bartholomew massacre opponents of the government were readers of Erasmus, instancing Fr. Hotman and the authors of the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*; and asserts that the 'politiques' were Erasmians, but offers no evidence. I note that Erasmus is occasionally mentioned by Bodin.

The ecclesiastical authorities evidently thought Erasmus' influence still formidable. His works were condemned *in toto* by the index of Paul IV in 1559, and this is the date of the last unexpurgated edition of the *Adagia* (in which the *Bellum* is Adage 3001) to be published in France. The index of 1564 limited the ban to certain works only and called for the expurgation of the *Adagia*. Accordingly the next French edition, that of Chesneau, 1570, gave the *Bellum* in abbreviated form, though not slashed so completely as in the notorious edition of Paolo Manuzio (Florence, 1575), made with papal authorization.[8] There had been no editions of the separate *Bellum* or of the *Querela* in France since 1530. However, the editions of both works available to our translators before 1570 were complete and unexpurgated; it was only after that date that the call for retrenchment took effect, not only in the editions of the *Adagia* by Chesneau and Manuzio, but in the expurgatorial indices of 1584 and after. Even in these last, the *Bellum* suffered more than the *Querela*, which, though purged of considerable passages, nevertheless retained its identity; it had never been specifically named in the prohibitive indices. The secret character of our translations perhaps is due less to official stigma than to the general feeling that Erasmus was a dangerous author. The burning of Louis de Berquin could hardly have been forgotten. Among his translations from Erasmus condemned by the Sorbonne in 1525/1526 was that of the *Querela Pacis*.[9] There was indeed a special fear of translations as such; a Latin text circulating among scholars might do less harm than a translation that would fall into the hands of the multitude, unprepared to read with the qualifications that men of learning might be expected to take for granted.

But the translations we have to present were safe enough. The portions of the *Bellum* put into French by our writers are harmless. If this adage seemed specially objectionable because of its attack on the friars, its assertion that Aristotle is incompatible with Christian doctrine, its doubts about the moral grounds for war against the Turk, its reprobation of the clergy for preaching war, and perhaps its attack on the memory of Julius II, none of these passages appears in the translations. Colet

[8] On Erasmus in the indices, see especially F. H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* (Bonn, 1883), I, 347–355; Preserved Smith, *Erasmus* (New York, 1923), pp. 421–422; Andreas Flitner, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–46.

[9] Allen, *Opus Epist.* VI, 65, seems to say that the *Querela Pacis* itself was condemned on 1 June 1525; it was, however, an anonymous translation, presumably Berquin's (Du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio judiciorum*, Paris, 1728, II, 42; M. M. Phillips, *Érasme et les débuts*, p. 118).

employs the earlier parts of the *Bellum* in which war is found to be contrary both to nature and to Christian doctrine, and Aubert does much the same, though adding in less direct translation the charge that wars originate in the vices of kings. The anonymous *Louanges* selects passages dealing with the contrast between war and the professions of a Christian, together with a passage on the hardships of a soldier's life and the prohibitive cost of war. Sevin, however, in his adaptation of the *Querela Pacis* to the circumstances of the Wars of Religion, retains the passages (later to be condemned) in which ecclesiastics are severely handled by Erasmus, though he tends to soften their impact.[10]

I. JOSSE CLICHTOVE

De Bello et pace opusculum, Christianos principes ad sedandos bellorum tumultus & pacem componendam exhortans. Paris, Simon Colinaeus, 1523 (August 3); 8°, 50 ff.+1 f. Index.

Erasmus mentions Clichtove with some frequency in his letters, and usually has a good word to say of him, even after he became convinced, about 1525, that Clichtove had aligned himself with the Sorbonne: 'Clithoveus quidam, homo mihi quondam amicus, nec prorsus alienus a Musis; sed hunc in suum pertraxerunt consortium' (*Epist.* 1805 Allen, dated 1527).[11] If he read the treatise *De Bello et pace* when it appeared in 1523, he may well have regarded it at first with some favor as the work of a friend, so much of it echoes his own writings on peace (though without acknowledgment), even going beyond him in protest against the warmongering of clergymen.[12] About half the chapters of

[10] For the *Bellum*, page-and-line references ('Latomus') are to *Érasme, Dulce bellum inexpertis*, texte édité et traduit par Yvonne Remy et René Dunil-Marquebreucq (Berchem-Brussels, 1953, Collection Latomus VIII); for the *Querela Pacis*, references (LB) are to the *Opera omnia* (Leiden, 1703–1706), IV.

[11] Josse Clichtove (1472–1543) is known as an early opponent of Luther (*Antilutherus*, Paris, 1524), and as the editor of many works of Lefèvre d'Étaples, whose pupil he had been. A Fleming, he studied in Paris from c. 1488, taking the divinity degree in 1506. Tutor to the young Bishop of Tournai in Paris, 1513–1517, he received a benefice in Tournai in 1519, and about 1525 a canonry at Chartres which he held for the rest of his life. The best account of Clichtove is still that of J. A. Clerval, *De Judoci Clichtovei . . . vita et operibus* (Paris, Picard, 1894); on his relations with Erasmus, see P. S. Allen, *Opus Epist. Des. Erasmi* IX, 160 n., and E. V. Telle, *Érasme de Rotterdam et le septième sacrement* (Geneva, Droz, 1954), esp. pp. 329–345. There is a facsimile reprint of the *De Bello et pace opusculum*, ed. the Marqués de Olivart (Madrid, 1914) (not seen by me).

[12] However, Clichtove has nothing like Erasmus' attack on the mendicant monks in *Bellum* 86, 1006–1085. He may not have known this passage unless he possessed a copy of the latest edition of the *Adagia* (Jan. 1523), where it appeared for the first time; but very

the *opusculum* begin with topics suggested by the *Bellum* or the *Querela Pacis*. Yet the work is Clichtove's own; he knows the traditional thought about peace independently of Erasmus, and he fills out his topics with a wealth of instances from biblical and classical history and from the poets, among whom Mantuan is a favorite. Moreover, he departs from Erasmus on such essential matters as the virtue of fighting the Turk and the justification of war for the recovery of territory. He seems to have aimed at avoiding the apparent exaggerations of the *Bellum* and the *Querela*, as if hoping to serve the cause of peace the better by remaining within the bounds of the possible.

In his preface, Clichtove explains why a plea for peace is needed, and declares that he writes as a Christian, not as a German, Englishman, or Spaniard.[13] Defining peace (ch. 1), he divides it in the medieval fashion, after Augustine, between *pax mundi* and *pax Domini*.[14] Peace is the condition of the natural world from stars to stones (2).[15] Peace reigns in heaven, war is from hell (3).[16] Christ in all his words and acts taught only peace (4).[17] The blessings of peace are enumerated (5); war, in contrast, is worse than plague and famine and the cause of both (6).[18] Christian princes should not make war on each other (7);[19] worse than civil, such wars are fratricidal (8);[20] the pagans fought more humanely than we do (9).[21] It is shameful to display the cross on military ban-

---

likely he knew it and deplored it, since his attitude towards the regular clergy was altogether opposed to that of Erasmus (see E. V. Telle, *op. cit.*, *passim*).

[13] In the preface, echoes of the title and first sentence of the *Querela*: 'extorris illa [Pax] finibus nostris miseram luget suam sortem, quia ubique gentium profligata sit', etc. (cf. *Querela Pacis, undique gentium eiectae profligataeque*); quotation from Silius Italicus, as in *Querela* 629E.

[14] Erasmus does not make this traditional distinction.

[15] The greater part of ch. 2 follows *Querela* 626B–627A in detail.

[16] Erasmus does not so contrast, but mentions peace in heaven (e.g., *Bellum* 56, 580) and reiterates that war is from hell (*Bellum* 26, 154; 52, 517, etc.).

[17] Inspired by *Bellum* 54, 547 ff. and *Querela* 629D.

[18] Traditional *laudatio pacis* and *vituperatio belli*, not from Erasmus, though some details inevitably agree with the same *topoi* in *Bellum* 44, 409–420 and *Querela* 639B.

[19] Passages of N. T. enjoining peace; vindictive passages of O. T. explained as allegorical or superseded. This is Erasmian; cf. *Bellum* 68, 748–790, *Querela* 630A–F. Remarks on the hostility among nations (f. 16^{v}: 'Iam Gallum esse apud Britannos capitale est', etc.) are from *Querela* 638D (cf. *Inst. princ. Christ.* 610). The conclusion that war may be condoned as a last resort, here frankly accepted, is barely admitted by Erasmus in *Querela* 637F.

[20] This topic, and much of the expression, from *Bellum* 52, 519–529.

[21] From *Bellum* 64, 689–691, 736–747; cf. *Querela* 633C.

ners (10);[22] and clergymen ought not to incite princes to war (11);[23] they should encourage them to fight the enemies of the faith (12).[24] Here and in the next chapters (13–16), Clichtove departs rather widely from Erasmus: acceptable reasons for a *justum bellum*; the testimony of Augustine on this point; war sometimes justifiable between Christians and even for the recovery of territory.[25] War is a punishment sent from God for our sins; He must be appeased (17–18).[26] When differences arise, princes should at once send envoys and negotiate without cupidity, making non-aggression pacts (19).[27] Let them remember that they are brothers in the spirit, recall the miseries of their subjects, fear the wrath of God, and, if they must fight, let it be against the enemies of the orthodox faith (20).[28]

We cannot pass over the possibility that Clichtove's work may in turn have influenced Erasmus' *Bellum*, though what we say on this point is a suggestion and by no means a certainty. Erasmus revised the *Bellum* for the edition of the *Adagia* published by Froben in February 1526.[29] Apart from scattered sentences, there are three substantial additions: 40, 350–364, against clergymen who preach war; 64, 692–736, on the superior humanity in war of the ancient pagans compared with the brigandage of the sixteenth-century soldiery; and 70, 791–820, an extension of Erasmus' reprobation of those who twist Scripture to justify war. The first of these passages is presumably not influenced by Clich-

22 From *Bellum* 42, 365–370, and *Querela* 635B–C and 740F (the naming of special cannon for the apostles).

23 From *Querela* 634C–635B (the equivalent *Bellum* 40, 351–364 was added by Erasmus in 1526; see below).

24 Unqualified advocacy of a Turkish war is not Erasmian, though it is well known that Erasmus' attitude shifted (cf. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum* VIII, Epist. 2279 and 2285 introd.). Clichtove ascribes opposition to a Turkish war to Luther (who also changed his mind on the matter), but may be striking at Erasmus through him as Erasmus came to think he did in the *Antilutherus*. In editions of the *Bellum* before 1523 there is only the brilliant passage (84, 969–996) against fighting the Turk; passages added in Jan. 1523 include a concession (92, 1075–1085) to the common view, and this is already in *Querela* 638B.

25 On the *justum bellum* see below. Clichtove here condones war for the recovery of territory with reluctance, emphasizing the cost in blood and wealth (he echoes *Bellum* 48, 481–504 or *Querela* 640A), but permits it as a last resort—otherwise a prince might gradually lose all his territory.

26 A traditional topic significantly omitted by Erasmus.

27 Compare *Bellum* 84, 958–968, *Querela* 636B, and *Inst. princ. Christ.*, last sec. But Clichtove's ideas on arbitration are more concrete than those of Erasmus.

28 In this recapitulation several sentences echo *Bellum* 52, 519–536.

29 Latomus, Introd., p. 10.

tove, since the equivalent is in the *Querela*, which Clichtove himself echoes.[30] But Clichtove's influence on the other two passages is conceivable. The first of them is inserted in a train of thought which before 1526 stated that the ancients waged war more humanely than we, and civilized the peoples they conquered. This thought is repeated in the *Querela* (633C) with the explicit contrast that *modern princes fight for trivial causes*. Clichtove (ch. 9) states that the reading of ancient history shows that the pagans fought with more moderation; he gives many examples, and ends (f. 21) by observing that *now soldiers fight lawlessly like brigands*: they leave their honest callings to rush into war and to live by rapine. Erasmus' insertion in the 1526 *Bellum* is similar: if you read the history of the pagans, you will find generals who avoided war and sought reconciliation (examples different from Clichtove's), but now those are called soldiers who rush into battle in hope of gain: *Christian warfare is brigandage*.[31]

Between the lines of the second passage one might read a reply to one of Clichtove's main points. Clichtove had devoted three chapters to the doctrine of the *justum bellum*, attempting (in ch. 15) to define the narrow limits within which a ruler might justly go to war for the recovery of territory. Before 1526, Erasmus had barely mentioned this doctrine in his *Bellum* (60, 637), and it is not referred to as a doctrine in the *Querela*,[32] but he had dealt briefly with it in the *Institutio principis Christiani* (LB, IV, 609)—princes easily persuade themselves that any war they wish to wage is 'just'—and this charge is brought into the *Bellum* in

[30] *Querela* 634F: 'Evangelici praecones . . . e suggesto sacro classicum canebant.' Clichtove, f. 26^{r}: 'Qui vero suggestum conscendunt, . . . classicum canunt bellicum.' *Bellum* 351: 'Alius e sacro suggesto promittit omnium admissorum condonationem, qui sub eius principis signis pugnarint.'

[31] Clichtove, f. 19^{v}: 'Caeterum si antiquorum annales . . . cuiquam evolvere vacat, invenientur profecto ethnici . . . multo maiore moderatione . . . gessisse bella quam hac tempestate gerant inter se . . . Christiani. . . . (f. 21^{v}): Nunc autem detonante bello, qui prius artis alicuius exercitio ac usu victum sibi honeste quaeritabant, artis opus relinquunt, ad bellum catervatim properant, ut, illius praetextu, rapto vivant, ditentur spoliis,' etc. Erasmus, *Bellum* 1526: 'Si revolves ethnicorum historias, quam multos reperies duces qui miris artibus bellum declinarint. . . . Nunc inter Christianos vir fortis habetur si quis eius gentis quicum bellum est hominem forte obvium in nemore, non armatum sed pecuniis onustum, . . . occiderit. . . . Et milites vocantur qui spe lucelli ultro provolant ad pugnam. . . . Itaque, si veteris militiae disciplinam contempleris, Christianorum militia latrocinium fere est, non militia.'

[32] Erasmus appears to avoid the term *justum bellum*, even when he alludes to the notion that rulers find reasons for war (e.g., *Querela* 636B–C; 639F) or himself allows war for defense against 'barbarians' or for internal tranquillity (*Querela* 637F).

1526 in an added sentence (60, 638–640) and again in the long insertion in question (70, 791–820). The insertion chiefly extends the thought that precedes it, namely the iniquity of those who interpret Scripture so as to justify war. He quotes them as saying that the words 'Nolite esse solliciti de crastino; benefacite iis qui oderunt vos' were valid only during the Lord's lifetime, and as saying: 'Porro sicubi similia docet Paulus aut Petrus, *consilii sunt, non praecepti*'. Now Clichtove, after quoting Luke vi, 30 ('Of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again') and 1 Cor. vi, 7 ('Why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?'), admits that one might reasonably take these verses as *consilia* and not as *praecepta*.[33] By this kind of interpretation, Erasmus says, kings are encouraged in their vices.[34] He adds: 'Haereseos suspectus est qui vehementer dehortatur a bello, et qui talibus commentis diluunt vigorem evangelicae doctrinae . . . orthodoxi sunt et pietatis Christianae doctores: doctor vere Christianus nunquam bellum probat; fortassis alicubi permittit, sed invitus ac dolens.' In writing the first clause,[35] he could hardly fail to be thinking of the action of the Sorbonne against Berquin, and against himself through Berquin, then going on. He may have been aware that it was to Clichtove that the examination of Berquin's translations had been entrusted.[36] The second clause recalls the kind of concession to the defenders of war that Clichtove was willing to make, and 'orthodox doctor' (and censor) is of course what he was. Erasmus' feeling against him was, understandably,

[33] *De Bello*, f. 36r: 'Caeterum his haud ineptam responsionem adhibebit quispiam, quae ex evangelio et Paulo nunc deprompta sunt, non esse praeceptoria dicta sed consilium tantum exprimentia, quod amplecti aut praetermittere cuique liberum sit.'

[34] Clichtove also allows (f. 34v) that Christ's telling Peter to put up his sword (John xviii, 11) should not be used as an argument against a 'defensio moderata' of one's own person. In the *Bellum*, just before the new insertion, Erasmus disposes of this text, and denounces as impious and ignorant the interpretation of Luke xxii, 36 ('he that hath no sword let him sell his garment and buy one') as justifying a 'moderata defensio' (*Bellum* 70, 787–790).

[35] Stepped up from *Querela* 635A: 'Immo iam eo prope rediit res, ut stultum et impium sit adversus bellum hiscere.'

[36] E. V. Telle, *op. cit.*, p. 332. Berquin's translations were seized on 7 March 1525 and were considered by the faculty on 20 May (the *Querela Pacis* separately on 1 June). Erasmus was kept informed of the proceedings both by Noel Beda and by Berquin. The latter was arrested in Jan. 1526, and his translations were finally condemned on 12 March. Though unique copies of the other translations survive in the library of the University of Geneva, no copy of the French *Querela Pacis* is known to exist, if indeed the book was printed. Erasmus relates an anecdote of its good effect on a French bishop to whom Berquin had given it: from an enemy of Erasmus he was turned into a friend (*Opus Epist.* VIII, 213).

rising at this time.[37] Yet surely Clichtove's rightful place is in the last clause with Erasmus himself; a way out is left for him in accordance with the conciliatory attitude usually assumed by Erasmus towards the canon of Chartres.

2. CLAUDE COLET

L'Oraison de Mars aux dames de la Court, ensemble la Responce des Dames à Mars, par Claude Colet Champanoys. Plus l'Epistre de l'Amoureux de vertu aux Dames de France fugitives pour les guerres. A Paris, chez Chrestien Wechel, 1544. Avec privilège. 4°, 64 pp. [B.N. Rés. p.Ye. 390].

Second edition, augmented by Colet's *Epigrammes*, etc., Paris, Wechel, 1548; 8°, 144 pp. [B.N. Rés. x. 2537].

A conspicuous part of the propaganda for peace in the sixteenth century in France is in the form of poems, either 'remonstrances' in the absence of peace or 'réjouissances' on the occasions of its fleeting return. Such poems were commonly published as separate pamphlets, as in the present case of Colet's *Oraison de Mars*, published to celebrate the Peace of Crépy. The influence of Erasmus, as we have said, is traceable in many of these poems; what brings Colet's work before us here is the peculiarity that considerable portions of the second of the two poems it consists of, the *Responce des Dames à Mars*, are simply verse-paraphrases from the *Bellum* and the *Querela*.[38]

The first poem indeed, the *Oraison de Mars*, may be taken as an example of the 'influence' of Erasmus. The god of war pleads his own case in a rather straightforward manner, without the irony of, for example, Jean Molinet's ever-popular *Testament de la Guerre*. War or dissidence, he asserts, is a universal principle; nation differs from nation, the arts contend one with another, even individual men are divided within themselves, the planets have different orbits, the elements are mutually

[37] In a letter of 24 Dec. 1525 to Nicholas Everard (*Epist.* 1653), finally convinced that Clichtove had covertly attacked him in the *Antilutherus*, he calls all Clichtove's writings 'begutarrii libri' ('bigoted'), and includes Clichtove among the 'nebulones' whom Luther had armed against him. Clichtove openly criticized Erasmus in his *Propugnaculum Ecclesiae* of May 1526, and was answered in an *Appendix de scriptis Clithovei* published in Aug. (LB IX, 811); Allen, *Opus Epist.* IX, 160 n.; Telle, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

[38] Claude Colet was a native of Rumilly in Champagne, and served in Paris as maître d'hôtel to the Marquise de Nesle. His poem, which had been in preparation for some time, is dedicated in a prose epistle to Charles de Hautecourt, seigneur de Richeville, as to a personal friend. Besides this work, he published several translations, including the ninth book of *Amadis de Gaule* (1553).

hostile, spirit and flesh are at variance. These are Erasmian topics in reverse.[39] Mars continues on his own: the greatest honors are reserved for military heroes; it is not war, but God, who advances or retards the day of a man's death; not death therefore, but only the glory attending it, is attributable to war. The *Oraison* is not meant to be very convincing, and is only a prelude to the much longer *Responce*.

After some introductory lines, the first argument of the *Responce des Dames* begins as follows (pp. 27–30):

Premierement, contemplant la nature
Du corps humain, de toute creature,
On trouvera que Dieu divinement
L'homme créa avec entendement,
Prest à pourvoyr au salut de chacun,
Non pas pour nuyre ou mal faire à quelqu'un.
Cela est cler par la grand' difference
Des animaulx, qui sont en leur naissance
D'armes munis, les Lions furieux,
Tigres legers, Regnarts industrieux,
Ours despiteux, decepvans Crocodilles,
Loups affamés, Elephans mal habilles. . . .
L'homme n'est pas de sa nature ainsi:
Car le grand Dieu, comme il est trescongnu,
Des animaulx l'homme seul créa nud,
Et qui de soy ne peult faire un seul pas,
Et ne congnoist ny peult prendre repas. . . .
  Par ce propos, ô Mars, tu peuls entendre,
Que Dieu créa l'homme imbecille et tendre
A ce semblance et divine figure,
Pour faire bien à toute créature:
Ce qu'ont congnu les bestes brustes mesmes,
Qui se voyans estre en perils extrêmes,
Et ne pouvans plus trouver subterfuge,
Ont accouru à l'homme pour refuge.

[39] Nation differs from nation (cf. *Querela* 638D); the arts contend (*ibid.* 628D); individuals are at variance within (*ibid.* 629D); heavenly bodies, elements, body and soul are harmonies of opposites (*ibid.* 626B–C). Mars represents himself as born of Justice, but says that when Justice fled from earth he was left behind to be nursed by Folly. The notion of having him pronounce his own eulogy may have been suggested by the *Moriae encomium* rather than the *Querela Pacis*.

This passage (sixty-four lines without the omissions) will be recognized as a verse-paraphrase of the 'portrait of man' which forms the first striking development of the *Bellum*:

> Primum igitur, si quis habitam modo figuramque corporis humani consideret, an non protinus intellecturus est naturam, vel potius Deum, animal hoc non bello, sed amicitiae, non exitio, sed saluti, non iniuriae, sed beneficentiae genuisse? Nam ceterorum animantium unumquodque suis instruxit armis: taurorum impetus armavit cornibus, leonum rabiem unguibus . . . elephantos, . . . crocodilum. . . . Solum hominem nudum produxit. . . . Nec fari novit, nec ingredi, nec cibum capere. . . . Proinde Deus in hoc mundo velut simulacrum quoddam sui constituit hominem, ut ceu terrenum quoddam numen saluti prospiceret omnium. Sentiunt hoc ipsa etiam bruta, cum videamus non mitia solum, verum etiam pardos et leones . . . in magnis periculis ad hominis opem confugere.[40]

The second argument of the *Responce des Dames à Mars* is to the effect that the whole doctrine of Christ favors peace and is opposed to war (pp. 30–33):

> Et s'il nous fault prendre la loy divine,
> Nous trouverons que toute la doctrine
> De Jesu Christ n'exhorte qu'à pitié,
> A charité, à paix et amitié. . . .
> Salomon Roy de tout le peuple Hebrieu,
> Representant la figure de Dieu,
> Non sans raison feit construire le temple, . . .
> Car Salomon en langage Hebraïc
> Nous signifie un homme pacific. . . .
> Voy un petit comment sainct Pol met peine
> A collauder ceste Paix tant humaine, . . .
> Sainct Jehan, sainct Pierre, et ceulx qui ont escript
> Tant sainctement des faictz de Iesu Christ,
> Ne proposoyent en praedication
> Que charité, paix et dilection.

Colet has here gathered passages from a later page of the *Bellum*: 'Universam illius doctrinam excute: nihil usquam reperies quod non spiret pacem, quod non sonet amicitiam. . . . Quid undique sonant omnes Pauli litterae, nisi pacem . . .? Quid Ioannes loquitur . . .? Quid aliud

[40] Ed. Latomus, 20, 52 to 24, 115. At one point Colet slightly alters the original order; he omits 94–98 on the liberal arts, and gives 99–108 before 89–94 (Colet, p. 29).

Petrus?'[41] and: 'Christi typum habebat Salomon, quod Hebraeis pacificum sonat: ab hoc sibi templum exstrui voluit.'[42] But with these passages he mingles others derived from the *Querela Pacis*,[43] and it is with the *Querela* that he continues (pp. 33–34):

> Escoute un peu ce que dit Isaye. . . .
> Il nous promet un Roy doulx et clement,
> Non un tyrant, non un triumphateur,
> Non un Satrape. . . .
> Mesmes alors que sa mort approchoit,
> Pour son dernier mandement ou edict,
> En enseignant ses Apostres, leur dit,
> Entr' aymez vous.

Compare *Querela* 629D: 'Egregius ille vates Esaias cum coelesti afflatus spiritu Christum illum rerum omnium conciliatorem venturum annuntiaret, num Satrapam pollicetur? . . . num triumphatorem? Nequaquam. Quid igitur? Principem pacis. . . . [630E] Vide quanta sollicitudine commendet moriturus: Diligatis, inquit, invicem.'

Colet now enters upon a long description of the benefits of peace (pp. 35–38) and the horrors of war (pp. 39–43), and elaborates on the hardships of a soldier's life (pp. 44–47). These standard topics are of course treated by Erasmus in the *Bellum*, and most of Colet's details come from this source, though not taken in Erasmus' order.[44] The next development, a contrast between the Ten Commandments and the demands of Mars (pp. 48–53), is Erasmian in manner but not in content.[45] The poem ends with a wish to ban Mars from France, and a long appeal to rulers to consider the misery of their peoples and make perpetual peace (pp. 54–57).

To summarize roughly the dependence of Colet's *Responce* on Erasmus: the first four pages of the argument are a verse-translation from

[41] 54, 547–566.

[42] 52, 537–539.

[43] E.g., p. 31: 'David aussi parlant du redempteur | . . . Disoit son siege estre mis en la tente | . . . de la Paix' seems to be from *Querela* 629E rather than from *Bellum* 54, 545.

[44] *Bellum*, ed. Latomus, pp. 24, 44–50, 66. For example, Colet, p. 39: 'Par toy [War] lon voit maintes villes construictes | Depuis mil ans, en un moment destruictes.' Cf. *Bellum*, 46, 423: 'Tot saeculis exstructae florentissimae civitates una procella subvertuntur.'

[45] In *Querela* 635D–E, Erasmus similarly goes through the Lord's Prayer, contrasting the demands of war with each phrase. The vices enumerated in Colet's contrast recall *Querela* 639C–D.

the *Bellum*; the next five pages render passages of the *Bellum* and the *Querela*, but not consecutively; the next thirteen pages contain numerous details from Erasmus; the last ten pages do not depend textually on Erasmus though written in his spirit. There is thus a gradual divergence from the text of Erasmus. Colet may have set out to paraphrase the entire *Bellum*, only to find such a procedure too confining, and he may have finished the poem hurriedly to meet the date of the Peace of Crépy.[46] At all events, about two-thirds of this poem of 815 lines are in varying degrees dependent on Erasmus.

Note. Erasmus' contrast between the animals born fully equipped for fighting and man born naked is one of the great commonplaces of ancient literature (Erasmus chiefly follows the preface to book 7 of Pliny's *Natural History*); but nowhere is it employed as Erasmus employs it, to point the moral that man is therefore intended to be peaceful.[47] Since this is Erasmus' peculiar contribution to the *topos*, the few places in other writers where it appears in this form are necessarily due to his influence. After Colet, it is used in peace poems by J.-A. de Baïf in his poem *Sur la Paix avec les Anglois* (1550), by Ronsard in his *Exhortation pour la Paix* (1558), and by Pierre de Brach in an *Ode de la Paix* (1576). Baïf may have taken the topic from Colet, but his version is too colorless to make his source certain; Ronsard may have remembered Baïf's poem, but he seems to have consulted Erasmus directly; De Brach clearly echoes both Ronsard and Erasmus.[48]

[46] In the dedicatory epistle (dated Paris, 16 Sept. 1544), he recalls that Hautecourt had seen the unfinished *Responce* some time before, but says that he had felt incapable of finishing it until prompted by recent events.

[47] On the contrary, the conventional answer is that man is the best fighter of all, since he possesses reason and can forge and use all weapons. Colet gives Mars this argument in the *Oraison* (pp. 15–16):

> N'a pas donné dame Nature aux bestes
> Ongles et dents et cornes en leur testes? . . .
> Et si lon dict qu'il est assez congnu,
> Qu'elle voulut créer l'homme tout nud,
> Pour demonstrer qu'il est plus ordonné
> A chercher paix, que pour la guerre né,
> Je vous respond qu'icy divinement
> L'homme en esprit garni de jugement . . .
> N'a eu bezoign d'estre armé par Nature,
> Car il pourra de luy mesme choisir,
> Et se forger les armes à plaisir.

[48] Ronsard (*Œuv.*, éd. crit., IX, 21) seems to translate part of a sentence of Erasmus: 'Ah malheureux humains, ne scauriez vous congnoistre | Que la nature, helas, ne nous a point

3. GUILLAUME AUBERT

Oraison de la Paix, et les moyens de l'entretenir: et qu'il n'y a aucune raison suffisante pour faire prendre les armes aux Princes Chrestiens, les uns contre les autres. Aux tresmagnanimes & trespuissants Henry, & Philippes Roys de France, & d'Espaigne, Par G. Aubert de Poictiers, Advocat en la court de Parlement de Paris. A Paris, par Benoist Prevost. . . . Avec privilège, 1559. 8°, 22 ff. Privilège dated 10 May 1559. [B.N. Lb[31].93.]

Guillaume Aubert (c. 1534–c. 1601) is known to literary history as an associate of the Pléiade and as the editor of the first collective edition of the poems of Du Bellay (1569). He contributed to the *Tumulus* of Jean Brinon (1554), and, with Ronsard, Baïf, and Nicot, is one of the speakers in the philosophical *Dialogues* (1557) of Guy de Bruès, where with Baïf he takes the skeptical point of view. While pursuing a legal career in Paris, he also aspired to employment at court, and is said to have been presented to Henri II precisely in the winter or spring of 1559 when his *Oraison* appeared. The occasion of the speech, which may have been delivered orally, was the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis signed at the end of March. In publishing it, Aubert joined his friends (Ronsard, *La Paix, au Roy*; Belleau, *Chant pastoral de la Paix*; etc.) in swelling the unprecedented torrent of literary acclaim that greeted this settlement. If Aubert hoped that his oration would further his chances of preferment, these hopes were no doubt cut short by the death of the king in July; it was not until 1588 that he received a royal appointment.[49]

In the *Oraison de la Paix*, the author's stated purpose is to inquire how the peace concluded at Cateau-Cambrésis may be made permanent. He does indeed make some proposals to this end, but for the most part the

---

fait naistre | Pour quereller ainsi'; Erasmus: 'An non protinus intellecturus est naturam . . . animal hoc non bello . . . genuisse.' De Brach (*Poèmes*, 1576, f. 105[r]) echoes Ronsard, e.g., in 'Mais nous, miserables hommes, . . . | Vestus d'une tendre peau, | Par où la vie est blessée, | Estant seulement percée | De la pointe d'un couteau'; cf. Ronsard, *loc. cit.*: 'Mais vous, humains, à qui, d'un seul petit couteau | Ou d'une esguille fresle, on perseroit la peau.' But De Brach goes on to include points from Erasmus that are not in Ronsard; e.g., 'Nous qui portons au visage | Portraicte la sainte image | D'un Dieu qui n'aime que paix'; Erasmus, *Bellum* 22, 109: 'Deus in hoc mundo velut simulacrum quoddam sui constituit hominem.'

[49] On Aubert see G. Fagniez in the *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris* XXXVI (1909), 47–56; for his rather numerous publications, divided between literature and law, see also Niceron, *Mèm.* XXXV, 264. Cf. Bruès, *Dialogues*, ed. Panos Paul Morphos (Baltimore, 1953).

speech deals with the iniquity of war, and large parts of it are either translated from the *Bellum* of Erasmus or otherwise dependent on it. We may note the details of this dependence in following an outline of the *Oraison*: (1) introduction stating the occasion and the purpose of the speech; (2) proof that war is contrary to nature and to the will of God; (3) the causes of war in the ambition of kings, their greed, craving for glory, and wish to recover lands they have lost; (4) two laws that would put an end to war; (5) conclusion.

1. After presenting his qualifications, as a lawyer, to deal with international affairs, and congratulating the kings on the recent settlement, Aubert introduces his argument with a confession that his matter is borrowed: 'Et pensez que . . . ce n'est point moy qui parle à vous, mais bien sont-ce les plus renommés auteurs des langues estrangeres, qui se servent seulement de moy comme d'un truchement pour vous faire entendre ce dont ils ont assez de fois adverti plusieurs autres princes et grands monarques de la terre' (f. 7^{v}).

2. The first four pages (ff. 8^{r}–9^{v}) of the proof that war is contrary to nature are translated from Erasmus' *Bellum*: 'Pour donc commencer, ie vous supplie, Roys magnanimes, contempler à par vous comme la nature a faict naistre l'homme en ce monde, et si elle l'a produit pour faire la guerre à son pareil. Luy a elle baillé des cornes furieuses comme aux taureaux? (f. 8^{r}) . . . Oultre toutes ces choses, la bonne et sage nature a donné à l'homme le ris pour tesmoigner sa ioye, et les larmes pour monstrer la misericorde.' (f. 8^{v}) [*Bellum* 20, 52: 'Primum igitur, si quis habitum . . . corporis humani consideret, an non protinus intellecturus est naturam . . . animal hoc non bello sed amicitiae . . . genuisse? . . . Taurorum impetus armavit cornibus.' *Bellum* 22, 81: 'Uni risum attribuit, alacritatis indicium. Uni lacrymas, clementiae et misericordiae symbolum.'] Aubert here omits Erasmus' further elaboration of this point (*Bellum* 22, 85 to 24, 115); paraphrases the description of war (*Bellum* 24, 116–130); and reproduces in full the speech of outraged Nature: 'Que eust elle dit, la bonne mere nature voyant ce triste spectacle devant ses yeux? Eust elle pas usé à tresbon droict de telles ou semblables parolles? "Quels monstres, quels fantausmes . . .?" (f. 9^{r}) . . . Certainement la sage et prudente Architecte des choses, Nature, eust lors usé de telles ou sembables menaces' (f. 9^{v}). [*Bellum* 30, 210: 'An non merito huiusmodi verbis sit exsecratura facinus impium? Quod novum spectaculum ego video?' *Bellum* 32, 235: 'Haec atque id genus alia premulta diceret, opinor, architectrix illa rerum Natura.'][50]

Aubert concludes this part of his oration with a lively passage (ff. 10v–11v) in which he imagines a converted savage from La France Antarctique (Brazil) being sent to France by the navigator Villegaignon and arriving at Amiens when the armies were facing each other there just before the conference of Cateau. Would not such a visitor from another world be astonished at the conduct of supposed Christians? 'Sont-ce là les Chrestiens desquels Villegaignon m'avoit parlé avecques tant de louanges dans les solitudes de mon pais?'[51] This Brazilian and his reactions are evidently a genial substitute for Erasmus' stranger from another world—from the lunar world of 'Empedocles' or one of the innumerable worlds of Democritus: 'an non ubivis potius iudicabit habitare Christianos quam in hisce regionibus . . .?' (*Bellum* 56, 584–58, 611).

3. Aubert's discovery of the causes of war in the vices of rulers is also obviously inspired by the *Bellum*, and many passages are direct translations, but since he does not here follow Erasmus' order, it would be tedious and serve no purpose to pick out the Erasmian sentences. One example may suffice (f. 13r): 'car les plus aspres malheurs de la guerre tombent ordinairement sur ceux qui les ont moins merités, comme sur les laboureurs, sur leurs femmes, sur leurs enfants. . . . Mais le proffit qui en peut advenir, c'est à dire la proye, les rapines, et les larcins, tombent en la gueule de ceux qui sont les plus prompts à piller, et mieux exercités à volleries et brigandages, faisants quelques-fois durer la guerre tout à leur escient, par ce qu'ils n'esperent trouver meilleur rencontre, sinon alors qu'ils voyent la Republique embrouillé de seditions, courir fortune, et en danger de faire un malheureux naufrage.' [*Bellum* 76, 861–869: '. . . hic maxima pars malorum in eos redundat qui minime digni sunt malo, nempe ad agricolas, ad senes, ad matronas. . . . Ceterum, si ex re omnium pessima quicquam onmino commodi potest colligi, id totum ad sceleratissimos aliquot latrones derivatur, . . . et quibuscum nunquam melius agitur quam in summo reipublicae naufragio.']

4, 5. The two 'laws' proposed by Aubert (f. 20r) for ending war are: (1) that any two monarchs who have a grievance against each other should submit their case to a board of their own choosing, to consist of

[50] Aubert continues (f. 10r–10v) to demonstrate the peace of nature with the example of the elements and the stars. This commonplace is not found in Erasmus' *Bellum*, but is in the *Querela Pacis* 626B–C, which Aubert probably follows (cf. Clichtove, ch. 2).

[51] Aubert clearly had been reading André Thevet's famous book, *Les Singularitez de la France antarctique*, which had recently appeared (1557), and which was highly esteemed by Ronsard and his friends.

other princes, great noblemen, and men of learning; and (2) if either rejects the findings of the board and mobilizes his army, he is to be outlawed and driven from his throne by an alliance of all other Christian princes. These two laws are not Erasmian, though Erasmus does advocate arbitration in *Bellum* 84, 959. But when Aubert goes on (f. 20v) to encourage the kings to fight just one war, the war against their own vices, he is again translating from the *Bellum* (68, 763 ff.). His conclusion, that the kings should join in a crusade against the Turks is again unerasmian, though Erasmus does not altogether forbid it.[52]

4. 'LES LOUANGES ET RECOMMANDATIONS DE LA PAIX'

Les Louanges & Recommandations de la Paix, extraictes de l'escriture saincte. Plus est monstré que cest chose fort deshonneste, que les Chrestiens ayent guerre ensemble. Avec une Suasion à faire la Paix, au regard du grand trauail qu'il faut souffrir à mener la guerre, & des grans fraiz qu'il y faut faire. A Lyon, par Iean Saugrain, 1563. 8°, 8 ff. n.num., sig. A–B4. [B.N. Lb33.96.]

A second edition is listed by Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise* III, 256, as published by Benoît Rigaud, Lyons, 1568. [Copies at Aix and Besançon.]

This anonymous pamphlet is made up of four sections, all translated from the *Dulce bellum inexpertis*. The first section (sig. Aii–Aiiiv), with the heading *Les Louanges . . . extraictes de l'escriture saincte*, is from *Bellum* 52, 532 to 54, 572, where Erasmus shows that war is contrary to the teaching of Christ; the translator justifies his title by placing the biblical references in the margin. The second section, *Que cest chose fort deshonneste . . .* (sig. Aiiiv–Aiv) is from *Bellum* 52, 515–535: Christians being more than brothers, war between them is worse than fratricidal. The third section (sig. Aiv–Bii), *Suasion à faire la paix*, etc., is from *Bellum* 48,

[52] A Latin translation of Aubert's *Oraison* was published in the next year by a young Finnish student in Paris, Martinus Helsingus: *Oratio de pace deque eam rationibus retinendi . . . gallicè conscripta & habita a G. Auberto . . . in Latinum vero idioma nuper a Martino Helsingo tralata* (Paris, F. Morel, 1560) [B.N. Lb31.94]. It is dedicated to John, duke of Finland. The translator was apparently unaware that much of what he was translating from the French already existed in Latin in Erasmus' original—e.g. f. 16r: 'siquidem usu saepissime venit, ut maiora belli incommoda in eos cadant, qui minus ea promeruerunt', etc. (cf. the original, above).

481–50, 514, on the hardships of a soldier's life and on the cost of war. The fourth section (sig. Bii–Biv), not mentioned on the title page, has the caption: *Que plusieurs Chrestiens au fait de guerre sont pires qu'infidelles & payens*, and this fairly describes the contents of *Bellum* 64, 712–68, 760, which is here translated. In all, these selections present little more than a ninth part of the *Bellum* (140 lines out of 1228).

The first sentences of the booklet follow, together with the original Latin (*Bellum* 52, 532–539):

Jesus Christ salue les siens avec le bienheureux salut de paix: laquelle il leur a donnée et laissée, comme un don trespecial. En ses sacrées prieres là, qu'il a faictes à Dieu son pere, il le requiert fort entre autres choses, que les siens (c'est à dire les Chrestiens) soyent un avec luy, ainsi qu'il est un avec son pere. Desia en cecy tu entens une chose encor' plus grande que Paix, qu'amitié, ne que concorde. Salomon qui signifie en Hebrieu pacifique, estoit la figure de Iesus Christ: par iceluy Roy Dieu a voulu que son temple fust edifié.

Felici pacis omine [Christus] salutat suos; discipulis praeter pacem nihil donat, praeter pacem nihil relinquit. In sacris illis precibus illud praecipue Patrem orat ut, quemadmodum ipse idem erat cum eo, ita et sui, hoc est Christiani, idem essent secum. Iam plus audis quam pacem, plus quam amicitiam, plus quam concordiam. Christi typum habebat Salomon, quod Hebraeis pacificum sonat; ab hoc sibi templum exstrui voluit.

5. CHARLES SEVIN

Complainte de la Paix deschassee et bannie pour le Iourd'huy hors du Royaume de France, auquel elle souloit faire seur repos & gracieuse demourance, recueillie de plusieurs aucteurs. Par M. Charles Seuin, Chanoine d'Agen. Adressee à Iuges equitables & non suspectz. A Paris, chez Claude Frémy, 1570. Avec privilège. 8°, 52 ff. [B. N. Lb^{33}.421.]

Charles Sevin, a native of Orléans and canon of the cathedral church of S. Etienne at Agen, was an intimate friend of Julius Caesar Scaliger, also of Agen, eight of whose published letters are addressed to him. Sevin edited the first collection of Scaliger's letters in 1555. Other literary friends were Salmon Macrin, Charles Fontaine, and Jean Dampierre. Sevin died in 1575, perhaps about the age of sixty-five or seventy, since Scaliger addresses a letter to him as early as 1529. His two published works—the *Complainte*, with which we are concerned, and *Sermons, ou Exhortations au peuple chrétien et catholique*, 1569 (2nd ed., 1575)

—belong therefore to his old age, and both were evidently inspired by his concern over the civil wars.[53]

Sevin's *Complainte de la Paix* is an adaptation of Erasmus' *Querela Pacis*, but an adaptation that follows the original so faithfully from beginning to end that one is tempted to call it the first French translation we have, since that of Berquin is lost, or rather the only extant French translation before that of Mme Bagdat in 1924. Sevin, to be sure, pretends that the book is wholly his own. The name of Erasmus nowhere appears; in the title, the words 'recueillie de plusieurs aucteurs' are a mild deception, or a deceptive confession; and at the end (f. 49v) the text is signed: 'Prononcée ce 22 Juin 1569. C.S.'

The object of the adaptation is to make the *Querela Pacis* pertinent to the civil wars of France in 1569—an object not difficult to attain since the *Querela* is so general in character as to be applicable to any of the wars of the sixteenth century. Throughout, Sevin alters 'mortales' and the like expressions to 'François'; he makes the *Querela* a trifle more dramatic by inserting the address 'Messieurs' or 'Messieurs les juges' more often than the original calls upon 'Christian princes'; he inserts some sentences bearing directly on the religious wars, and occasionally enlarges on Erasmus' thought when it seems especially pertinent; on the other hand, he omits or adapts some sentences in which Erasmus deals severely with the religious orders (though most of what is said against the clergy is retained) and also passages referring to persons of Erasmus' time such as Julius II and Henry VIII. Yet by and large the *Querela* was relevant as it stood, and for pages at a stretch Sevin is content merely to translate. Between omissions and enlargements, the *Complainte* fills about the number of pages that one would expect in a French translation of the *Querela*.[54]

Sevin's method is fairly represented by the opening sentences of the book. In the *Querela*, Peace begins her harangue as follows:

Si me, licet immerentem, suo tamen commodo sic aversarentur, eicerent, profligarentque mortales, meam modo iniuriam et illorum iniquitatem deplorarem: nunc

[53] La Croix du Maine, *Bibl. fr.*, ed. Rigoley de Juvigny, I, 117; Du Verdier, *Bibl. fr.* I, 309; Jules Andrieu, *Histoire de l'Agenais* (Paris-Agen, 1893), I, 230, n. 1, with a reference to the following publication which I have not seen: *Un Cantique inédit de Charles de Sevin d'Orléans*, ed. Tamizey de Larroque (Auch, 1878).

[54] The *Complainte* runs to roughly 22,000 words, Mme Bagdat's translation of the *Querela* to roughly 20,000.

cum me profligata protinus fontem omnis humanae felicitatis ipsi a semet arceant, omniumque calamitatum pelagus sibi accersant, magis illorum mihi deflenda est infelicitas quam mea iniuria.

Sevin alters 'mortales' to 'la France', and makes some insertions, here indicated by italics:

Si *la France* me reiectoit & bannissoit pour quelque sien prouffit & utilité (combien que seroit à tort & sans l'avoir merité) ie ne ferois autre chose pour le present, que deplorer le tort & l'iniure qu'elle me feroit, pour demonstrer sa follie & combien elle est mal advisée.

Mais ayant puys n'agueres delaissé & abandonné tous autres Royaumes & pays, pour venir me recreer & soulager avec elle quelque temps & prendre quelque soulas & repos: Moy (dis-ie) qui suis la source & fontaine de tout bien, de tout plaisir & felicité humaine, voyant qu'elle me dechasse *par tous endroicts de ce Royaume, & de sa compagnie avec armes & violence*: Considerant aussi que en me dechassant, elle se provoque un abisme de miseres & calamitez: I'ay à present plus grande occasion de deplorer son malheur & son infortune que mon iniure.

Yet though ready to expand or paraphrase wherever he deems it desirable, Sevin for page after page, as we have said, has only to translate the text before him. An example is the following passage on mutual aid as a law of nature:[55]

Eoque tum corporum, tum animorum dotes ita [Natura] partita est, ut nemo sit omnium tam instructus, quin infimorum etiam officio nonnunquam adiuvetur; nec eadem attribuit omnibus nec paria, ut haec inaequalitas mutuis amicitiis aequaretur. Aliis in regionibus alia proveniunt, quo vel usus ipse mutua doceret commercia. Ceteris animantibus sua tribuit arma praesidiaque, quibus sese tuerentur; unum hominem produxit inermem atque imbecillum, nec prorsus aliter tutum, quam foedere mutuaque necessitudine.

Car nul seul ne fut iamais si doué de noblesse d'esprit, ou de corps, qu'il n'ait eu besoin d'estre soulagé et aydé de son inferieur. Pource que iamais nature n'a donné à un seul, tout: ne mesmes graces semblables. Afin que ceste inequalité devint et fust faicte presque semblable, par support mutuel et communication frequente de mutuel service. Exemple. Une region, un pais, est copieux et abondant de ce qui defaut en un autre. Afin que l'usage mesme monstrast aux hommes commutation et eschangement de marchandise, pour soulager l'un l'autre. Nature a donné armes aux bestes pour se deffendre, et conservation de leur vie. Mais elle a produit l'homme seul tout nud, sans armes et sans deffense, et mesmes tout imbecille: Afin qu'il se sentist et congnust ne pouvoir estre autrement asseuré que par alliance et amytié mutuelle.

[55] *Querela* 627D; *Complainte*, f. 7r.

Where Sevin feels called upon to modify the text of Erasmus, his governing principle is the adaptation of the sentiments to present circumstances. Sometimes he interpolates a short sentence in an appropriate context. Thus where Erasmus speaks of the strength that comes from union and concord, Sevin adds: 'Les Rheistres ne fussent iamais venus manger nostre pain, ne boire noz vins, s'ilz nous eussent veu d'accord et vivre en paix.'[56] Allusion to the German mercenaries suits Erasmus' point and brings it up to date. In other cases he is obliged to resort to a degree of ingenuity. An instance is his treatment of a notable passage in which Erasmus launches into the praise of France as the most prosperous, best-governed, and most Christian nation in Europe: the other Christian powers should rejoice in her good fortune, but instead they give way to envy and greed and conspire to ruin her:

> Si Christiani corporis unius membra sunt, cur non gratulatur quisque alienae felicitati? . . . Etenim, si verum fateri volumus, quid aliud commovit, et hodie commovet, tam multos ad armis lacessendum Franciae regnum, nisi quod est unum omnium florentissimum? Nullum latius patet, nusquam Senatus augustior, nusquam Academia celebrior, nusquam concordia maior. . . . O rem monstrosam! parum consultum putant Reip. Christianae, nisi pulcherrimam ac felicissimam ditionis Christianae partem subverterint.[57]

Sevin, whose wish is not to praise but to shame the France of his day, turns the passage to his purpose on the key of *autrefois*:

> Si les François sont tous d'un Royaume, d'une mesme nation, d'un commun langage, que ne soulagent ils mutuellement le Royaume de France, sans ainsi le mutiller, destruire, et mettre en proye? Ce Royaume n'a il esté autrefois le plus pacifique, . . . le plus riche et opulent de toute la Chrestienté? Trouvera lon aux Royaumes, Parlements plus sains? . . . Se trouvera il aux autres Royaumes, Universitez . . . plus fameuses? . . . Ce sont les François mesmes qui ont infecté la Religion et la ieunesse.[58]

The *Querela* is the more easily adaptable to Sevin's purpose since Erasmus treats the wars among European nations as civil wars within the Christian republic. That religion therefore plays a large part in the argument is also to Sevin's purpose, but this aspect of the *Querela* might be expected to require careful handling by the canon of Agen. Certainly he softens many of Erasmus' more provocative expressions, but

[56] *Querela* 641A; *Complainte*, f. 46r.
[57] *Querela* 633E–F.
[58] *Complainte*, f. 25v.

on the whole he retains most of the impact of Erasmus' criticism of ecclesiastics. Whether we interrogate him on the passages censured by the Sorbonne in Berquin's translation, or on those expunged after Sevin's time by the Index Expurgatorius, it is clear that these passages embarrassed him only to a limited extent. He translates all but one of the passages censured in Berquin.[59] The one he omits is phrased in Erasmus' most startling manner, and is open to a dubious interpretation that Erasmus himself endeavors to forestall; it is not needed for the argument.[60] In another passage, that in which Peace fails to find herself at home in the religious orders or even in a single monastery, Sevin extracts the sting from the whole, and leaves out an offensive sentence. Presumably he did not think that the religious houses of his day were as bad as that; yet he keeps enough of the indictment to make the point.[61]

[59] The ten passages censured in Berquin's translation will be found in Du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio judiciorum*, II, 45. One or two of them were rendered offensive only by Berquin's interpolations. Sevin translates (f. 12r) from *Querela* 628F, 'que lon nomme communément evesques' (*communément*=*vulgo* expunged also in the later indices); and (f. 12v) from *Querela* 629A, 'Saint Pol défend et se courrouce amèrement de ce que un Chrestien plaide et aye procès contre un autre Chrestien', which in Berquin's version the Sorbonne declared Saint Paul never said (Erasmus had in mind 1 Cor. vi, 7–8).

[60] *Complainte*, f. 22v. The passage is *Querela* 632B: 'Tot hodie sacramentis infundi coelestem spiritum affirmant Theologi. Si verum praedicant, ubi peculiaris spiritus illius effectus, cor unum et anima una? Sin fabulae sunt, cur tantum honoris hisce rebus defertur? Atque haec sane dixerim, quo magis Christianos suorum morum pudeat, non quo sacramentis aliquid detraham.' Berquin's translation, which is exact, drew the following emphatic comment from his censors: 'Haec propositio diabolico spiritu in divinorum Sacramentorum contemptum excogitata, in Spiritum Sanctum, qui per Sacramenta datur, blasphemia est et schismatica.' The trouble lies in apparently requiring a state of grace, or the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, to be exhibited in moral conduct if the (supernatural) efficacy of the sacraments is to be believed in. Erasmus explains that he only means that Christians *ought* to show this effect. He is on safer ground in a bold expression of similar intent in *Bellum* 98, 1185: 'Si fabula est Christus, cur non explodimus ingenue? . . . Sin is vere est *et via, et veritas, et vita*, cur omnes nostrae rationes ab hoc exemplari tantopere dissident?' Here there is no question of the supernatural effect of ritual. The indices, however, found no fault in the former passage.

[61] *Complainte*, f. 12v, from *Querela* 629B: 'Tot factiones sunt, quot sunt sodalitia: Dominicales dissident cum Minoritis . . . Quin idem sodalitium factionibus scinditur. . . . Optabam vel in uno quopiam monasteriolo latitare. . . . Invita dicam . . . nullum adhuc reperi, quod non intestinis odiis ac jurgiis esset infectum.' In Sevin, Peace cannot dwell long in the monasteries 'à cause d'une infinité de barbouilleries et factions', but the trouble is that the orders (not named) scorn the life of others, like the Pharisee scorning the Publican, 'et pour dire tout en un mot, chascun se plaist en son habit, en sa profession, *et si magnifie son patron, qui est bonne et saincte chose*' (not in Erasmus); and finally 'ie abandonnay promptement *tous telz* cloistres et monasteres' (softening *in uno* and *nullum*). Peace next looks for harmony between married couples, hoping that 'inter hos citius contingat locus, quam inter

The whole passage on the monasteries is expunged in the later expurgatorial indices.[62] Other important passages that these indices were to condemn seem not to have troubled Sevin on religious grounds. Thus two substantial omissions were called for by the later indices in Erasmus' long arraignment of the clergy who preach war.[63] Sevin gives both passages pretty faithfully.[64] In the first, two sentences interpolated by him seem intended to reinforce rather than to adulterate the argument.[65] In the second he omits an obscure historical reference to cardinals created by war, and, less excusably, Erasmus' picture of cross fighting cross on the banners of opposing armies. These omissions amount to a very few lines; he omits more, as it happens, from the intervening passage which the indices do not condemn, namely a development relating to the wars between France and England and to Pope Julius II. Evidently he thought the English wars and Pope Julius no longer relevant.

eos qui tot titulis, tot insignibus, tot ceremoniis absolutam charitatem profitentur'. This comparison is omitted by Sevin. If correctly reported, Berquin had made a special point of placing marriage above the cloister: 'Je n'ai point encore trouvé un seul monastère, qui ne soit infecté de debats et haines intestines. Paix trouveroit plutôt lieu en mariage qu'avec ceux qui par tant de titres, par tant de signes, par tant de cérémonies si vantent d'avoir parfaite charité.'

[62] References are to the Spanish and Roman indices as reported in Erasmus' *Opera* LB, X, 1818. Here all is expunged after *forsitan agnoscat aliquis* to *Pudor sit recensere* in *Querela* 629A–C. Erasmus is made to say the opposite of what he really says. He says: 'St. Paul thinks it intolerable that Christian should litigate with Christian; but now . . . bishop contends with bishop; but perhaps one might pardon them because they have joined the company of the worldly ever since they began to have the same possessions as they.' By omitting 'because' etc., the index makes him say only: 'But perhaps one might pardon them'! Note that, unlike the Sorbonne, the index found no fault in the citation of St. Paul, but, like the Sorbonne, objected to the reference to the temporal possessions of the clergy. Sevin (f. 12r) is if anything more emphatic than Erasmus in condemning ecclesiastics who contend at law 'pour raison de quelque benefice'; he retains the citation from St. Paul; but he renders the last part of the sentence ambiguously: 'N'est ce chose indigne à la dignité sacerdotale? Mais (me direz vous) cela est desia tout commun et usité. Il ne s'en faut plus soucier. Or bien donq qu'ilz iouissent hardiment de leurs droits, qui leurs sont desia acquis: comme par longue prescription.' ('Verum his quoque forsitan ignoscat aliquis quod longo iam usu propemodum in profanorum consortium abierunt, posteaquam eadem cum illis coeperunt possidere.')

[63] *Querela* 624C–E ('Immo ne . . . ad perniciem'); 635B–E ('Iam ipsa castra . . . fratri machinaris').

[64] *Complainte*, f. 28r–29v.

[65] 'La plus part des ministres [Protestant clergy], qui bouttent et inflamment le feu, ce sont moynes reniez, apostatz des quatre ordres mendiennes. Une partie des soldatz mesmes ce sont prestres et gens d'Eglise devenuz bandoliers à toute perdition et licence desbordée.' This last is suggested by Erasmus, and the first sentence is probably intended to redress the balance.

Erasmus himself had complained of the interpolations made by Berquin in the latter's translations of his books. Had he seen the interpolations and the omissions made by Sevin, he might not have been altogether pleased; yet after all he might have been content to know that his *Querela* could still be used as a plea for peace in the civil wars of France.

Cornell University JAMES HUTTON

The 'Liberey' of Duke Ernst of Bavaria (1500-1560)

ASSIONATE pursuit of humanistic scholarship, religious controversy, and princely ambition conspired to create impressive book collections at numerous sixteenth-century German courts.[1] Whether conceived as utilitarian repositories for scholars or polemicists, or as treasure to enhance the splendor of a prince's court in competition with his peers, most of these late Renaissance collections were to form the great territorial and national, public and university libraries of modern Germany.[2] The present-day Bavarian State Library, in many respects a typical example, owes its origin to the magnificent book collection amassed by Duke Albrecht V during his reign (1550–1579). Outnumbered only by the imperial library in Vienna, Albrecht's collection of about 11,000 volumes was considered at the time of his death the second largest library in Germany.[3]

Albrecht began his reign with only a modest number of books, having inherited a mere handful of bound manuscripts and printed volumes. Yet in a relatively short time he brought together a remarkable number of volumes. He accomplished this feat—aside from receipts of books from occasional purchases, presents, and exchanges with other collectors—through three major acquisitions. In 1558 he obtained the

[1] Karl Schottenloher, *Bücher bewegten die Welt*, I (Stuttgart, 1951), 177–234; Heinrich Kramm, 'Deutsche Bibliotheken unter dem Einfluss von Humanismus und Reformation', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Supplement 70 (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 131–156; Ernst Mehl, 'Deutsche Bibliotheksgeschichte', *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss* (Berlin, 1951), pp. 331–335.

[2] Schottenloher, I, 233–234; Mehl, p. 335.

[3] Otto Hartig, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger* (Munich, 1917, Abhandlungen der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, vol. XXVIII, no. 3), p. 97; Paul Ruf, 'Bayerische Staatsbibliothek', in *Bayerische Kulturpflege* (presentation volume for Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria), ed. Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus (Munich, 1949), pp. 40–47 (the section of Ruf's essay relevant to this paper is based on Hartig); Kramm, pp. 208–209; Schottenloher, I, 225–226.

valuable library of Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter; three years later he was able to incorporate the books left by his uncle, Duke Ernst of Bavaria; and in 1571 he acquired the prized collection of Johann Jacob Fugger, which included the splendid library of Hartmann Schedel.[4]

Widmanstetter, in humanist circles known as Johann Lucretius Aesiander or simply as Dr. Lucretius, was a Renaissance scholar of wide-ranging interests. A graduate of German and Italian universities, he lectured in 1533 before Pope Clement VII and his court on the Copernican system. Though trained in the Roman law, he specialized in the history and languages of the near east. He was the first to publish the New Testament in the Syrian language and, in Latin, a life of Mohammed. He translated the Koran into Latin and compiled a Syrian and an Arabic grammar. In addition, he wrote a large number of essays on a diversity of subjects. His library, famous for its rare oriental manuscripts and prints, as well as the sizable collection of books befitting a humanist scholar, contained approximately 260 manuscripts and several times that number of books. It was purchased by Albrecht for 1,000 florins and formed the cornerstone of his book collection.[5]

Johann Jacob Fugger's library was to provide the stately capstone to the duke's collection during his lifetime. It was one of the finest private libraries in Germany, in part inherited, and vastly augmented by Johann Jacob. His expensive book purchases contributed to the financial failure from the ultimate consequences of which Albrecht seems to have saved him by acquiring his library. Albrecht is reported to have paid 50,000 florins for it, though its value has been estimated at 70–80,000 florins.[6] These figures alone imply quality and quantity.

While the significance of the additions of the collections of Widmanstetter and J. J. Fugger to Albrecht's library has been firmly established by Otto Hartig in his exemplary study of the founding of the Munich

[4] Hartig, pp. 9–24, 29–31, 31–46, and *passim*. On Schedel: Richard Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek* [published by Otto Hartig] (Freiburg, 1908); James Westfall Thompson, *The Medieval Library* (Chicago, 1939), pp. 469–470; Wattenbach, 'Hartmann Schedel' in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (hereafter *ADB*), XXX (Leipzig, 1890), 661–662.

[5] Hartig, pp. 9–24, 70–74, and *passim*; Ruf, 42–44. On Widmanstetter: Sigmund Riezler in *ADB* XLII (1897), 357–361; Max Müller, *Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter, 1506–1557; Sein Leben und Wirken* [(Diss.), Munich, 1907]; Hans Striedl, 'Der Humanist Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter (1506–1557) als Klassischer Philologe', in *Festgabe der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek: Emil Gratzl zum 75. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 1953), pp. 96–120.

[6] Hartig, p. 35 and n. 5. On Johann Jacob Fugger: Hartig, pp. 31–46, 174–218, and *passim*; Ruf, pp. 44–46; Wilhelm Maasen, *Hans Jakob Fugger (1516–1575)* [published by Paul Ruf] (Munich, 1922).

court library, the share of Duke Ernst's library in its formation has received scant attention.[7] Yet the Italian antique dealer Jacopo Strada, one of Albrecht's major advisors on *objets d'art*, referred to Ernst's book holdings as a *bibliotheca maiorum*.[8] As will be seen, the number of books involved fully justifies this appellation.

Duke Ernst, third and youngest son of Albrecht IV, reigning duke of Bavaria (1465–1506), was born in 1500. Dynastic considerations made it incumbent upon Ernst, his strong disinclination notwithstanding, to pursue an ecclesiastical career. Although he adamantly refused to accept holy orders, he administered the bishopric of Passau from 1516 to 1540 and, as archbishop-confirmed from 1540 to 1554, the archbishopric of Salzburg. Unsuccessful in obtaining an extension of the papal dispensation necessary to hold one of the highest ecclesiastical offices without the benefit of ordination, he vacated the archiepiscopal throne of Salzburg and, after settling most of his private affairs, retired to the county of Glatz in Silesia. He died there, 400 years ago, on 7 December 1560.[9]

The county of Glatz belonged at that time to the crown of Bohemia. Duke Albrecht V, the son of Ernst's oldest brother Wilhelm, desired to forestall losing the inheritance of his uncle's personal belongings to the Emperor Ferdinand I, who, as king of Bohemia, was entitled to the first claim of inheritance. He requested, therefore, and obtained on 29 March 1559, an imperial 'donation' which granted him the right to receive 'Duke Ernst's movable goods, such as cash, treasure, and all else, shortly upon the death of the same'.[10] Accordingly, within six weeks of Ernst's death Bohemian and Bavarian representatives foregathered at the castle of Glatz and, for a fortnight, busied themselves with inventorying the late duke's personal effects. Apparently, because of the layout of the castle and its appurtenances, the inventory takers split up into teams and submitted two reports of fairly equal lengths.[11]

[7] Hartig, pp. 29–31, 163–164; Ruf, p. 42; Kramm, p. 209.

[8] Hartig, p. 165.

[9] Felix F. Strauss, 'The Effect of the Council of Trent on the Episcopal Tenure of Duke Ernst of Bavaria, Archbishop-Confirmed of Salzburg, in 1554', *Jour. of Modern History* XXXII (1960), pp. 119–128.

[10] Hartig, p. 31.

[11] Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich (hereafter BHA), Abteilung Geheimes Staatsarchiv: Kasten schwarz Nr. 79/11, Erbfolgestreit mit Württemberg, Bd. 2, Nr. 96 (*Hertzog Ernsten etc. verlassne Schuld- vnd gültbrief, auch andere schrifften vnd acta etc.*) 30 fol., and Nr. 97 (*Inventarium Hertzog Ernsten in Bayern verlassenschafft im schloss zu Glatz vnd im Müntzhaus vnd fruchten, Armatur, leinwatt, bettgwand etc.*) 24 fol. (Hereafter *Inventory I* and *Inventory II*, respectively; the folio designations are mine.)

When Hartig wrote his fundamental study of the beginnings of Albrecht's library he made use of only the first of the two reports. This describes the effects in the castle proper which Ernst had inhabited, whereas the second report starts out with the inventory of grain supplies and ends up with an account of the stock in the wine cellars. Hartig obviously dismissed the latter as unlikely to contain anything remotely approaching his concern. Yet it is precisely here that he would have found the most rewarding entries bearing on his search for books.

On 30 January 1561, five officials—two representatives of the emperor, one of the Bavarian duke, and two impartial city councilors of Glatz—took stock of a building the axis of which formed one large room known as the 'green hall'.[12] This room was apparently used as a barracks when troops were stationed in the castle, and probably also served as sleeping quarters for the attendants of visiting guests. The room was equipped at the time with bedding to accommodate thirty-six persons. From the green hall led four rooms, two on each side. The room nearest to (and presumably to the right of) the main entrance was used as the armory. Among armor and arms for thirty-two horse and fifty-eight foot, and following the listing of eleven boar spears, stands recorded:

Item bound books large and small German and Latin *188*
Item barrels therein unbound printed books *3*
Item barrels therein sundry old writings *2*

Then, following the count of 142 quires of regal paper and 12 reams of writing paper, the inventory-takers turned to enumerate spare linen, blankets, and other household articles.

The second room also contained arms, powder flasks, and related materials, as well as building lumber. In the third room, across the green hall, packed among vessels of pottery and glass, were encountered:

Firstly old writings ..... *5 barrels full*

The fourth room divulged among sundry other items:

Firstly horse, oxen, and worked up [*tanned*] *cowhides* *317*
Item calf hides..... *105*

Finally, the viewers climbed to the attic. There they counted '90

[12] *Inventory II*, fol. 5ᵛ–9ᵛ.

empty barrels large and small of oak and other wood'. And up there they entered what must have been a fairly large room set aside for books only. The caption in the inventory reads: 'Found in the *Liberey*'. The findings were described briefly and sparsely:

Firstly bound books large and small *913*
Item unbound printed books German and Latin.... *10 barrels full*
Item blank bound registers *23*

With this concise entry, which conveys so much and tells so little, the five worthies concluded the inventory of the green hall building and called it a day.

There can be no longer any doubt: Ernst not only had a library but, if we conservatively estimate the number of bound and unbound volumes at about 2,500, he had, by the standards of his day, a library that was highly respectable. This estimate is made up of 1,158 bound books and manuscripts, 975 unbound printed books, and 400 unbound manuscripts for a total of 2,533 volumes.[13]

From a strictly numerical point of view (obviously the only one that can be taken on the basis of available documents), Ernst's legacy of

[13] The least controversial item in the breakdown refers to the bound tomes. It includes the 1,101 books housed in the library and armory, thirty-two itemized books listed in *Inventory I* (including a Bavarian chronicle and a velvet-bound, gold-edged missal), and an estimated 25 volumes derived from such vague recordings as 'mining ordinances', 'several books', and simply 'books' (*Inventory I*, fol. 8–11, 16, 16^{v}). The next item—unbound printed books—is more difficult to assess and is entirely based on conjecture. Discussions with librarians, perusal of numerous early book catalogues, and experimentation with books and barrels with regard to volume, weights, and sizes, have led me to the conclusion that an estimate of seventy-five books per barrel is amply conservative. The term 'alte Schriften' was haphazardly employed to include such items as letters, documents, contracts, mandates, journals, privileges, and so on (although the terms proper were also used occasionally). However, it seems highly likely that so early a library as Ernst's would contain handwritten copies of religious tracts, medical remedies, mining-, police-, guild-, fire-, and sanitation ordinances and the like. The seven barrels in the armory and the pottery room, therefore, may be assumed to have contained manuscripts suitable for binding, which one would expect to find in a library of the day. Because paper used for writing was frequently bulkier than that for printing, I arbitrarily estimate fifty manuscript 'volumes' per barrel. An additional fifty manuscripts are drawn from *Inventory I* on the basis of such entries as 'Latin manuscripts concerning metal', 'sundry old manuscripts', and several mere 'manuscripts' (fol. 9, 10). Among the effects were also a number of drawings, prints, and maps (*Inventory I*, fol. 9, 12, 16). However, any references to 'alte Schriften' relating specifically to Salzburg have been disregarded in the calculation. I assume them to belong to Ernst's voluminous private and business correspondence and accounts, as well as to a scattering of official documents which he had mistakenly taken along with him.

books vastly augmented Albrecht's library. Even after the much larger collection of J. J. Fugger was added in 1571, Ernst's books still constituted roughly twenty per cent. of the total. If Albrecht's expenditures for books during the 1560s seem excessively low, this may be accounted for not so much, as Hartig suggested, by the anticipated purchase of the Fugger collection,[14] but rather by the need to absorb Ernst's library and to recover from the expenses incurred in obtaining it. According to the ducal treasury, during the summer of 1561 Albrecht had spent more than 18,000 florins for the transport of Ernst's effects to Munich (which, incidentally, included the body of Ernst, and two of his natural sons who were live enough to be packed off to the University of Ingolstadt).[15]

From an ideological point of view Albrecht should have been pleased with his latest acquisition. For his exuberance in collecting in a well-nigh indiscriminate manner in princely rivalry with other courts[16] found in this instance a concrete opportunity to strengthen his library for a purpose, in specific competition with his Protestant cousins of the Palatinate. The Heidelberg library, the Palatina, had been amassed and augmented during the 1550s by Duke Ottheinrich, Elector Palatine, with the avowed purpose of making the books available to Protestant scholarship and polemic.[17] Albrecht's purchase of Widmanstetter's li-

[14] Hartig, p. 55. On p. 56 he offers a table of expenditures for book purchases and bookbinding expenses for the years 1561–1570.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[16] See Max Georg Zimmermann, *Die bildenden Künste am Hofe Herzog Albrechts V. von Bayern* (Strassburg, 1895) and the following contributions to *Bayerische Kulturpflege* (cited in n. 3): Hans Diepolder, 'Die Antikensammlungen', pp. 12–15; Karl Busch, 'Das Haus Wittelsbach und der Gemäldeschatz Bayerns', p. 55; Hans Thoma, 'Die Wittelsbachischen Herrschersitze und ihre Kunstsammlungen', pp. 86–88; Peter Halm, 'Zur Geschichte der Graphischen Sammlung', pp. 110–112; Otto Ursprung, 'Kulturpolitik und Tradition in der Musikpflege der Wittelsbacher', pp. 134–135; and Hans Gebhart, 'Die Staatliche Münzsammlung', pp. 150–151.

[17] 'Protestant history became the handmaiden of Protestant theology and Protestant politics' (James Westfall Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing*, N. Y., 1942, I, 527). See Karl Schottenloher, *Ottheinrich und das Buch* (Münster in Westf., 1927, Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Heft 50–51); Barbara Kurze, *Kurfürst Ott Heinrich: Politik und Religion in der Pfalz 1556–1559* (Gütersloh, 1956, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, Nr. 174), pp. 75–76; the following contributions to *Ottheinrich* (Gedenkschrift zur vierhundertjährigen Wiederkehr seiner Kurfürstenzeit in der Pfalz, 1556–1559), ed. Georg Poensgen (Heidelberg, 1956): Renate Klauser, 'Der Freund und Sammler von Büchern', pp. 119–122, 127–128, 132; Georg Poensgen, 'Gestalt und Werdegang', pp. 47–48, 54; Fritz Hauss, 'Die Durchführung der Reformation', p. 102; and Liselotte Mugdan, 'Die Reformierung der Universität', p. 221; Alexander von Reitzenstein, *Ottheinrich von der Pfalz* (Bremen, 1939), pp. 212–214, 216–217; Kramm, pp. 94, 146.

brary (on the persuasive advice of the imperial vice-chancellor Georg Sigmund Seld) had been to a large extent inspired by the idea of creating a book center in Catholic Munich as a religious countermove.[18] In sheer numbers, Ernst's library alone seems to have been twice as large as that of Ottheinrich.[19]

This leads to the question: why did Ottheinrich's books attain fame while Ernst's all but disappeared from view? To find a tentative answer, three major factors need to be considered: the different character of the two dukes, the types of books involved, and the condition of the books and their bindings.

Ernst and Ottheinrich were distantly related members of the house of Wittelsbach and, through Ottheinrich's marriage to Ernst's youngest sister, Susanna, brothers-in-law and, it seems, for many years close friends.[20] Although both dukes were in their respective ways characteristic of their time, they differed radically in their outlook on life. Ottheinrich, bubbling over with *joie de vivre*, was a princely representative of the cultural and artistic Renaissance of the north. His passion for grandeur and material splendor was reflected in collections of jewelry, coins, paintings, tapestries, and luxurious book bindings, as well as in his building activities,[21] and found its crowning glory in the creation of the east wing of the Heidelberg castle. Still known as the Ottheinrich-Bau, it is considered the purest expression of German Renaissance architecture.[22] His intellectual curiosity led him to foster the arts and sciences (including astrology and alchemy) and to found the Palatina. Actively participating in the religious controversies of the day, he was

[18] Hartig, pp. 97–98; Kramm, p. 146.

[19] 'An estimate of the total number of [Ottheinrich's] books assessed at roughly 1,000 volumes is probably not too high' (Klauser, p. 136).

[20] Felix F. Strauss, 'Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich als Gast des Erzbischof-Administrators Herzog Ernst von Bayern in Gastein im Jahre 1542', *Badgasteiner Badeblatt* (hereafter *BGB*), XVIII (1958), 101–103; 'Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich als Salzburger Gewerke und das Bergwerks-Croquis vom Jahre 1542', *ibid.* XIX (1959), 75–78; 'Zur Badegerechtigkeit des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrichs in Bad Gastein', *ibid.* XIX (1959), 423; and 'A Sixteenth-Century Sketch of Gold Mining Installations in Salzburg', *Historian* XXII (1960), 119–128.

[21] See the various essays in *Ottheinrich*; Reitzenstein, *passim*; Hans Rott, 'Ottheinrich und die Kunst', *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Heidelberger Schlosses*, V, nos. 1 and 2 (1905), and 'Zu den Kunstbestrebungen Ottheinrichs', *ibid.* VI (1912), 192–240.

[22] Kurt Rossmann, 'Der Ottheinrichbau', in *Ottheinrich*, p. 261. Ottheinrich was engaged in erecting 'a magnificent and sumptuous building, for which he assembled from all parts the most renowned artists, builders, sculptors and painters' (Christoph Mundt to Sir William Cecil, 28 June 1559; quoted by Reitzenstein, p. 242).

led to embrace, defend, and foster Lutheranism.[23] Throughout his life he loved a good show. In 1540, for instance, on the solemn occasion of Ernst's installation as territorial lord of Salzburg, he arrived with sixty retainers, including a group of fifteen musicians (while Ernst's brothers, Wilhelm and Ludwig, the reigning dukes of Bavaria, could between them muster only twelve trumpeters and kettledrummers).[24] To Ottheinrich money was to be spent and debts were heedlessly incurred to spend more[25] on things which gave form to his bold plans and to his insatiable quest to assuage his material, intellectual, and spiritual needs. Thus he left at his death huge debts but also a rich cultural heritage, despite the fact that he was largely self-taught.[26]

Ernst, by contrast, appears to have had the advantages of an excellent education. During his formative years of eight to sixteen he was entrusted to the tutorship of the foremost historian of the period, the humanist Johann Thurmayr, better known as Aventinus.[27] Together they journeyed to Italy in 1515 for the 'sake of learning' and, in all likelihood, to remove Ernst from the Bavarian political scene,[28] together they entered the University of Ingolstadt the following year, Ernst as a student and Aventinus as an occasional lecturer, and together they founded the *sodalitas litteraria Angilostadensis*, in imitation of the sodalities established by the German arch-humanist Conrad Celtis, late friend and mentor of Aventinus.[29] Ernst met here prominent German humanists of the day, such as Urbanus Rhegius, Georg Spies, and Matthias Kretz. He even penned, no doubt at Aventinus' suggestion, an invitation to Erasmus of Rotterdam to join the university faculty.[30] Forty years later Aventinus' daughter, Geisl, was to remind Ernst of the close bond that

[23] Hauss, in *Ottheinrich*, pp. 196–205; Mugdan, *ibid.*, pp. 210–222.

[24] BHA, Abteilung Geheimes Hausarchiv, Act 583: 'Hertzog Ernstn in Bayrn etc. Einryt 1540'; Hans Lutz, 'Einritt des Erzbischofes Herzog Ernst von Bayern', ed. Blasius Huemer, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* (hereafter *SLK*), LV (1915), pp. 48–61.

[25] Reitzenstein, pp. 193–196, 254; Poensgen, in *Ottheinrich*, pp. 26, 37, 46.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 30–32, 56–57; Reitzenstein, pp. 33–34, 39.

[27] Hartig, pp. 164–165. On Aventinus: Franz X. von Wegele, *Aventin* (Bamberg, 1890), and 'Aventinus', *ADB* I (1875), 700–704; Wilhelm Vogt, 'Aventins Leben', *Johannes Turmair's genannt Aventinus sämtliche Werke*, I (Munich, 1880), i–lix. Gerald Strauss is preparing a much-needed modern interpretation of Aventinus for early publication.

[28] Wegele, *Aventin*, p. 19. Gerald Strauss, 'The Religious Policies of Dukes Wilhelm and Ludwig of Bavaria in the First Decade of the Protestant Era', *Church History* XXVIII (1959), 2–3.

[29] Lewis W. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp. 59, 70.

[30] Hartig, pp. 164–165.

had existed between him and her father, a fact which the duke readily acknowledged.[31]

During the intervening forty years Ernst's interests had shifted far afield from those inspired by humanists and a liberal education. As chief executive of two ecclesiastical territories, which he had in his own opinion 'faithfully guided and administered',[32] he seems to have been principally attracted by the challenge posed by the inherent administrative, managerial, and economic problems. The experiences gained therefrom led him to take advantage of the opportunities which the bustling trade of Passau and, subsequently, the mining activities in the ore-rich territory of Salzburg offered to build up fairly diversified and geographically ramified business enterprises of his own.[33] The opposite of Ottheinrich, Ernst was somewhat cautious and pedantic, unostentatious and frugal, imbued with a sense of the need for capital accumulation, and inclined to stress the 'bourgeois virtues' of accuracy of weights and accounts and punctuality of reports and payments of bills. Ernst established the first printing press in Salzburg, not so much in order to foster humanistic endeavors, but as a means of economy, by producing at home what previously had to be sent abroad for printing, and, not unlikely, as an anticipated profit-yielding enterprise.[34] Ernst had become a typical aristocratic entrepreneur, a representative of the burgeoning early modern capitalistic development.[35]

The polar traits in the make-up of Ottheinrich, the grandiose prince, and Ernst, the prudent merchant, may well explain why Ottheinrich would obtain and display his books with a flourish, while Ernst would secure them quietly and keep them, like his business registers and account books, tucked out of sight.

Presumably, Ernst acquired the bulk of his library during his stay in Passau while still under the influence of his humanistic upbringing. So

[31] Geisl Aventini to Ernst, Nuremberg, 7 June 1555; Ernst to Geisl, Hallein, 15 June 1555, BHA, Salzburg-Literalien (hereafter 'Lit', followed by the vol. no.), 171.

[32] Ernst's testament, Salzburg, 25 Sept. 1550, BHA, Fürstensachen 319.

[33] Felix F. Strauss, 'Der Anteil Herzogs Ernst von Bayern am Edelmetallbergbau in den Tälern der Gastein und Rauris', *BGB* xx (1960), 478–482.

[34] Felix F. Strauss, 'Herzog Ernst von Bayern und Hofbuchdrucker Hans Baumann', *Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum, Jahresschrift 5, 1959* (Salzburg, 1960), pp. 193–203.

[35] See Fritz Redlich, 'Der deutsche fürstliche Unternehmer, eine typische Erscheinung des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Tradition* III (1958), pp. 17–32, 98–112; also F. Redlich, 'European Aristocracy and Economic Development', *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, VI (1953), 78–91.

far as is known, all books dedicated to Ernst fall into the Passau period, with the exception of Helias Brottbeyhel's manuscript chronicle, *Cathalogus Pontificum des hochwirdigen Ertzstifft Saltzburg* (n.d.).[36] The duke's fragmentary correspondence and accounts after 1540 have thus far revealed few book purchases; but among them is, characteristically, a book on the tariffs of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* in Venice.[37] That Ernst's library was already in existence during his reign in Salzburg may be deduced from payments for bookbinding expenses[38] and from two other unrelated incidents.

According to the minutes of the cathedral chapter the desire of an unnamed person to 'view his princely grace's *liberrj*' necessitated a thorough 'dusting of the books and reading stands'.[39] It seems no less significant that the scholarly Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter should enter Ernst's service as chancellor in 1545, after the death of his previous employer, Ernst's brother Ludwig.[40] Was it the security of the position *per se*, or the honor of the chancellorship, or the opportunity to make use of Ernst's library which most attracted Widmanstetter? Certain it is that he found in Ernst a sympathetic patron who defended him against the officials of Ernst's brother, Duke Wilhelm. Ernst requested Wilhelm to rescind the search order which had prevented Widmanstetter from taking his books, manuscripts, and personal writings (all packed in barrels and boxes) out of Bavaria. Widmanstetter was especially anxious, as was Ernst, that certain original documents by and concerning the emperor should not fall into the wrong hands as a result of the

[36] Hartig, pp. 167–169; Karl Schottenloher, 'Die Widmungsvorrede im Buch des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte*, Heft 76–77 (1953), pp. 17–18 and n. 18, 23 and n. 34. Books dedicated to Ottheinrich span a wider period. Moreover, authors frequently commented on him favorably in dedications to other princes (Schottenloher, pp. 57, 61–62, 63, 67, and *passim*). On Brottbeyhel: Mar. Corinna Trdán, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der salzburgischen Chronistic des 16. Jahrhunderts', *SLK* LIV (1914), 140–142; Friedrich Roth, 'Zur Lebensgeschichte des Matthias Brotbeihel', *Bayerisches Archiv* LIV (1909), 286–289.

[37] Entry for 16 Sept. 1551, fol. 31 in *Handschrift 1* of Hans Goldeisen (hereafter *Accountbook I*), Salzburger Landesarchiv (hereafter SLA), Goldeisenarchiv (hereafter GA).

[38] Entries for 1 Feb, 12 Apr., 15 and 27 June 1554, fol. 285^{v}, 288, 289, 290, in *Handschrift 2* of Hans Goldeisen (hereafter *Accountbook II*), SLA, GA.

[39] Entry for 12 Sept. 1549, Salzburger Kapitel-Protokolle, SLA.

[40] Widmanstetter remained in Salzburg three years as Ernst's chancellor (Josef Karl Mayr, 'Geschichte der salzburgischen Zentralbehörden von der Mitte des 13. bis ans Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts', *SLK* LXVI [1926], 39; Sigmund Riezler, 'Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter', *ADB* XLII [1897], 357–361). This is to correct Hartig (p. 10), following Müller (pp. 57–58), who allows Widmanstetter only a one-year stay in Salzburg.

search.[41] (The reference is undoubtedly to the same documents which Seld looked for a dozen years later and which initiated the proceedings for the purchase of the entire library of Widmanstetter by Albrecht.[42]) Widmanstetter retained a warm regard for Ernst even after he had left Salzburg. He sent him his personal greetings from Vienna, where he had assumed the royal chancellorship for the Austrian territories,[43] and for the third edition of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia universalis* (1550) he wrote a chronology of the archbishops of Salzburg which included a brief and favorable account of Ernst.[44]

What types of books did Ernst's library contain? The answer must of necessity confine itself to the most narrow limits. Hartig, who first discovered and identified some of the duke's books in the Bavarian State Library by their stamped bindings, listed a total of twenty-two (which includes one set of two volumes).[45] This is hardly an impressive count, and it has remained unchanged since Hartig's discoveries.

Among this small group of known extant books are four manuscript volumes, one of them by Hartig erroneously described as an autograph copy by Ernst,[46] three incunabula, and fifteen books printed in the sixteenth century. Grouped by subject matter they comprise three philosophical works, including two separate commentaries on Aristotle (both Cologne, 1503) bound in one volume; a *Postilla* (Haguenau, 1505), con-

[41] Dr. Lucretius [Widmanstetter] to Ernst, n.d. [end of 1545]; Ernst to Wilhelm, Salzburg, 2 Jan. 1546, BHA, Lit. 479. Müller reprints these letters in full (pp. 88–91) including a letter of Ernst to the ducal councilors of Landshut, Salzburg, 1 Dec. 1545.

[42] Hartig, pp. 15–16.

[43] Hans Rostock to Ernst, Vienna, 10 June 1553, Act 16, SLA, GA.

[44] Lib. VI, pp. 638–639, excerpted by Hartig, pp. 164–165. On Münster: Ludwig Geiger, 'Sebastian Münster', *ADB* XXIII (1886), 30–33; Gerald Strauss, 'Topographical-Historical Method in Sixteenth-century German Scholarship', *Studies in the Renaissance* V (1958), 92 n. 19, 96, 100–107.

[45] Hartig, pp. 167–170. This count does not include the *Salzburger Chronic*, a compilation by Christoph Jordan (sign.: Gotha A 181) which Hartig lists as a manuscript that may possibly have belonged to Ernst (p. 167). He seems to have misconstrued Trdán, who explicitly states that Jordan 'wrote his chronicle after the year 1560' (*SLK* LIV, 156). Presumably the error arose from the fact that all of the ten known copies written by Jordan between 1561 and 1600 (p. 157) display the coat of arms of Ernst painted on the center of the first page (p. 140).

[46] 'Index Indultorum personalium . . .' (Bavarian State Library, Munich, sign. Clm 478). A careful examination of the manuscript on microfilm reveals that Hartig (pp. 167–168) is in error, since it was written in nine sections by at least five, possibly more, different hands. Not one of them resembles the scrawlingly angular, almost illegible handwriting of Ernst. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Karl Dachs of the Bavarian State Library, who prepared for me several pages of each relevant passage for microfilming.

sisting of commentaries on St. John and St. Mark, by Albertus Magnus; three liturgical volumes; and two religious polemical works, both dedicated to Ernst. The three incunabula, from the press of Martin Flach in Strasbourg, contain collections of sermons (1489, 1493, 1497). A political treatise on Charles V by Heinrich Mameranus (1548)[47] and a two-volume *Opera omnia* (1547) of the Italian jurist Andrea Alciati indicate Ernst's interest in public affairs. Natural history is represented by Pliny (Haguenau, 1518),[48] medicine by a Latin translation of Hippocrates' *Opera* (Basle, 1546) from the Froben press and a medical compendium, *Ortus sanitatis* (1517), sometimes ascribed to Johan von Cuba. One of the manuscript volumes contains four different booklets with problems of time and geometry, surmised to have been used by the young Ernst as a school text.[49] Of the classical authors there is a copy each of Martial's *Epigrams* (Lyons, 1522) and Juvenal's *Satires*, with commentary (Lyons, 1523). A manuscript copy of the mining ordinance of Tyrol (1538) completes the review.

To this are to be added the few specifically mentioned items in *Inventory I*, which Hartig also listed in excerpt-form,[50] except for eighteen breviaries that must have escaped his attention.[51] Recorded are mining ordinances, Latin work on metals, a Bavarian chronicle, two missals, one gradual, and ten copies of D[r. Johann] Eck's *Postilla*. As has been seen, *Inventory II* yielded merely numbers of books and of barrels filled with them, without offering a single title or author.

Since the number of known books amounts to about one to one and one half per cent. of the estimated number in Ernst's library, it would be foolhardy to attempt to draw any profound generalizations. However, it is obvious even from this small shelf of books that the duke was a man whose interests were varied and whose reading ranged widely. Hartig's suggestion that a series of volumes of liturgical, medical, and juridical content, whose spinal inscriptions resemble those of Ernst's identified books, may also have belonged to him[52] appears to be not only highly probable but deserves renewed investigation. Any one familiar with the duke's character and interests would expect his library

[47] Heinrich Mameranus was a printer, bookdealer, and author. See J. Franck in *ABD* XX (1884), 158–159.

[48] The most luxuriously bound volume of the lot.

[49] Hartig, p. 169.

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 316–317.

[51] *Inventory I*, fol. 8.

[52] Hartig, p. 170.

to contain books on geology, mining, metals, and alchemy, on arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and accounting, on medicine, herbals, drugs, and simples, as well as tracts on syphilis,[53] on geography, topography, history, and jurisprudence. As an ecclesiastical official for almost four decades he would, as a matter of course, acquire a sizable number of works concerning the liturgy and ritual, customs and history of the Roman church, as well as of religious educational, devotional, and polemical literature.

Compared to Ottheinrich's library and to libraries of other contemporary princes and aristocrats,[54] Ernst's collection may in its emphasis and specialization not have sufficiently corresponded to the taste of the day to arouse any great enthusiasm. If this assumption is near the mark, it would explain why a true scholar like Widmanstetter would have found the duke's library suitable for his researches, while it met with indifference from collectors, or was glossed over by the cultured Strada as a *bibliotheca maiorum*, 'a pile of books', without any further comment.

The most likely reason, however, for the disappearance of Ernst's library from sight and ken might well have been the condition of the books and their bindings. A book deserving of a place in the library of a self-respecting sixteenth-century collector had to be properly attired. The binding was the visible nexus between a book and its owner—a mark of identification for the one as for the other. The art of bookbinding in luxuriously stamped and tooled leather bindings reached its apex in Germany (as in Italy and France) during the sixteenth century.[55] Ottheinrich's book covers, dispersed throughout the world's libraries, represent a famous and typical example of the German Renaissance prince's attitude toward the book. The cover of white pigskin or brown

[53] It is not clear whether Ernst was interested in the cure of syphilis for personal, public, or entrepreneurial reasons. He closely followed experiments with mercury powder on syphilitic patients (Ernst to Anthony Hunger, surgeon-barber of Passau, 10 and 21 Jan. 1545, BHA, Lit. 168). He bought guaiacum wood, considered efficacious in the treatment of syphilis, wholesale: eight logs, weighing 665 lbs. (Ernst's correspondence with Hans Sorg, Nuremberg merchant, Dec. 1552 and Jan. 1553, BHA, Lit. 158). The last room off the green hall in Glatz, which served as a lavatory, contained a guaiacum log (*Inventory II*, fol. 9^{v}).

[54] See note 17, and also Otto Brunner, 'Oesterreichische Adelsbibliotheken des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts', *Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 86. Jg. (1949), pp. 109–126.

[55] Schottenloher, *Bücher*, I, 270–271. See Konrad Haebler, *Rollen- und Plattenstempel des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1928–1929); Ernst Philip Goldschmidt, *Gothic and Renaissance Bookbindings* (N. Y., 1928).

calf is graced on the front by beautifully pressed designs which frame the ducal coat of arms or, later, a portrait of the elector in gold in the center.[56] Yet books bound for other princes, as, for instance, the Elector August of Saxony or the princes of Anhalt, are, compared with those done for Ottheinrich, considered of an even superior craftsmanship.[57]

How pitiful by comparison must have appeared the lot of books Ernst left behind! How graceless and disappointing must their sight have been to Albrecht, aspiring to build up a library which, to be sure, was to foster Catholicism, yet, at the same time, would enhance the Renaissance decor of his court! Here were twenty barrels full of unbound books and manuscripts and, worse yet, over a thousand books between covers, most of them most likely half-bound between coarse, bare, old-fashioned wooden boards.[58] This inference seems to be justified by the books of Ernst that have come down to us, the majority of which are half-bound in undressed wooden boards.[59]

Ernst apparently was more interested in the content than the outward appearance of a book. That does not mean that he was not concerned about the protective covering of his books. He was too practical for that. But economical as he was, he employed the cheapest means to achieve a maximum of protection. For just the half year prior to his resignation in Salzburg (the only period for which adequate documentation is available), he spent the comparatively large sum of 31 florins 4 shillings 15 pence for work done by Jacob Mayr, bookbinder.[60] While hides and skins were used for a multitude of purposes, the expense item for the treatment of pigskin (110 florins 6 shillings 12 pence) in Salz-

[56] A striking example in Haebler, II, plate LXXXIV, discussed in I, 290–291. Two other examples in *Ottheinrich*, pp. 133, 137.

[57] Klauser, in *Ottheinrich*, p. 135. See Konrad Haebler, *Deutsche Bibliophilen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1932), with numerous plates.

[58] 'Wooden boards were used for the sides of books throughout Western Europe until after the middle of the fifteenth century, when pasteboard began to be substituted for wood for this purpose' (Edith Diehl, *Bookbinding, its Background and Technique*, N. Y., 1946, I, 63). Observation and perusal of book catalogues indicate, however, that wooden boards continued to be used fairly widely in Germany for another century.

[59] I have inspected fifteen of the twenty-two volumes at the Bavarian State Library in Munich. Of these, eleven were in half-bound wooden covers, two were between wooden boards covered with leather, and two were in pliable leather bindings. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Oberbibliotheksrat Dr. Ferdinand Gelder of the Bavarian State Library for having made it possible for me to view these books in 1954, as well as for the more recent information he so kindly supplied me with by mail.

[60] See note 38.

burg,[61] and the stock of 15 tanned doeskins, 30 'worked up' chamois skins, and 105 calf hides in Glatz,[62] when seen from the bookbinding angle, may well indicate Ernst's intention to have some of them used for the binding of the barrelled books and manuscripts. Similarly, the 450 'de-leathered' (*ausgeliderte*) sheepskins on hand, obviously parchment, if not used for the writing of special documents, afforded another material employed for book covers.[63] Certainly, the twenty-three volumes of blank registers in the 'liberey' would suggest that Ernst had contemplated arranging and recording his collection during his retirement in Glatz. While still in Salzburg he had ordered book clasps from Nuremberg,[64] and *Inventory I* records a box with 'brass bosses for books' and another one with 'several clasps and brass [bosses] to be fastened to books'.[65]

Whatever the reasons which prevented Ernst from bringing order into his library—for instance, his chronic illness,[66] more pressing issues, or, perhaps, a lack of skilled bookbinders—the fact that he had extensive architectural changes made in the castle and its fortifications[67] seems cause enough for the failure. While provisions for library space must have been part of the rearrangement, the confusion attending the building activities was hardly conducive to the systematization of the library. The attic room above the green hall—some distance from the castle—can have been but temporary quarters for Ernst's 'liberey'. For this reason also he probably considered it safest for his unbound and unprotected books and manuscripts to be kept in barrels until such time as the new quarters were ready to receive them.

As might be expected, Ernst's stamped impressions on the leather bindings of his books are of a simple design. Hartig's description can hardly be improved:

On that part of the leather which protrudes over the front cover are impressed in blind

[61] Entries for 5 Jan., 25 Feb., and 11 Oct. 1554, *Accountbook II*, fol. 265, SLA, GA.

[62] *Inventory I*, fol. 14, 16^{v}; *Inventory II*, fol. 9.

[63] *Inventory I*, fol. 13^{v}. See Diehl, I, 66.

[64] Ernst-Sorg correspondence, 23 May, 14 and 23 June 1553, BHA, Lit. 158.

[65] *Inventory I*, fol. 10^{v}, 13.

[66] Ernst to Duke George of Silesia, Glatz, 2 Dec. 1558, Archivum Panstwowe, Wroclaw [Breslau], Rep. 23, Grafsch. Glatz I, 1 bb.

[67] Joseph Kögler, 'Historische Nachrichten von der Grafschaft Glatz', fol. 90 (manuscript in Archivum Panstwowe, sign. [new] 70). Imperial permit to spend 2,000 florins for building purposes, *Inventory I*, fol. 3.

lines [*Blindpressung*] either a series of small coats of arms in which the coats of arms of Bavaria-Salzburg alternate with those of the empire, or a single square standing on one corner framing the coat of arms of Bavaria-Salzburg and the date 1540. . . . A different type is a brown leather binding with the coat of arms of 1540 in gold . . ., a third, like it, is decorated with a band in blind lines and the initials H E [Herzog Ernst] and, finally, one volume displays a special stamp design.[68]

Ernst's bindings must have appeared drab and ungainly side by side with those of Ottheinrich's or Albrecht's books.

It seems fair, then, to assume that the make-up of Ernst's books offended the taste of the day and the aspirations of Albrecht. We can guess that some books—those damaged, separated, ripped, or warped—were discarded outright, and that others were passed on to institutions, such as monasteries or the University of Ingolstadt (for which Widmanstetter's collection had been originally intended).[69] It is, however, submitted as a hypothesis that many, perhaps even a majority, of the Cinderella-clad and unclad books were dressed in the Albertinean ducal array and mingled with the other elegantly attired handmaidens-to-knowledge in Albrecht's library. Though deprived of their earlier identity and divested of their allegiance to Ernst, his books are as likely as not still in the Bavarian State Library, where they have long been, and still are, of impartial service to prince and pauper, janitor and journalist, schemer and scholar.

Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn FELIX F. STRAUSS

[68] Hartig, p. 169.
[69] *Ibid.*, 12.

The Paradox of Money Imagery in English Renaissance Poetry

HE standard opinion about poetic images involving money is that they are conventional devices to depict the crass, prosaic details of existence. Robert B. Heilman, for instance, in 'The Economics of Iago and Others', writes of such words as *riches*, *gold*, *buy*, and *gain* that these economic terms 'constitute a precise, unsentimental vocabulary for keeping before us the problem of values, especially in terms of an always possible gain and loss'.[1]

W. L. Clemen, another student of Shakespeare's imagery who examines the figures of speech used by Iago, makes this observation: 'Iago's imagery teems with repulsive animals of a low order; with references to eating and drinking and bodily functions and with technical and commercial terms.'[2] Here we see the language of commerce placed in a vocabulary of metaphors that shouts of earthy things.

Milton A. Rugoff, in *Donne's Imagery*, writes that 'It is axiomatic, I suppose, that commerce, trade, and coinage are unpoetic. Their code is practical, their goal material; it is traditional, therefore to place them in opposition to the things which allow freedom to the fancy and give life to the more tender emotions.'[3]

This observation introduces Rugoff's comments on 'a kind of perversity' in the metaphor that Donne, 'in rejection of the Petrarchian and Spenserian conventions', uses when he writes in a letter to a friend, 'I was sure, you took not up your religion upon trust, but payed ready money for it, and at a high rate.'[4]

We shall see, however, that to the extent that Donne and others use money imagery to depict 'the things which allow freedom to the fancy and give life to the more tender emotions', they remain well within the

[1] *PMLA* LXVIII (1953), 555.
[2] *The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery* (London, 1951), p. 125.
[3] (New York, 1939), p. 145.
[4] As quoted by Rugoff, p. 145.

Petrarchian and Spenserian conventions and, indeed, well within the poetic tradition of the entire English Renaissance. In fact, our study will reveal that Rugoff's supposed 'axiom' is merely an idol of the tribe; for money imagery, like the sonnet, which D. G. Rossetti was to define in a later period in terms of a coin, is used to cast light upon all facets of life—the beautiful and the ugly, the generous and the miserly, the good and the evil.

That students of poetry customarily note only one aspect of the two-fold nature of money imagery is understandable when we consider that many of the poets who use the language of the market place to symbolize the highest aspects of life and love also write bitter literal verses against the evils of wealth.

Edmund Spenser, for instance, in *The Faerie Queene* (I.iv.27–28), depicts Avarice riding on a camel 'loaden all with gold' and incessantly counting a heap of coins in his lap, and vividly emphasizes the lawlessness and sterility of wealth. Yet Spenser, who uses the vocabulary of gain to define this evil character in such great detail, draws upon the same lexicon to write this sonnet to his love (*Amoretti* XV):

> Ye tradefull Merchants, that with weary toyle,
> do seeks most pretious things to make your gain;
> and both the Indias of their treasures spoile,
> what needeth you to seeke so farre in vaine?
> For loe my loue doth in her selfe containe
> all this worlds riches that may farre be found,
> if Saphyres, loe her eies be Saphyres plaine,
> if Rubies, loe her lips be Rubies sound:
> If Pearles, her teeth be pearles both pure and round;
> if Yuorie, her forehead yuory weene;
> if Gold, her locks are finest Gold on ground;
> if siluer, her faire hands are siluer sheene,
> But that which fairest is, but few behold
> her mind adornd with vertues manifold.[5]

This use of the imagery of wealth and commerce in writing of love is not unique. In 'Astrophel' (61–62) he describes the devotion of Sir Philip Sidney to Stella in this manner:

> To her he vowd the seruice of his daies,
> On her he spent the riches of his wit.

[5] *The Poetical Works*, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (London, 1950). All Spenser quotations are from this edition.

And in 'Epithalamion' (33) he begs the muses to awaken his loved one to 'Pay to her vsury of long delight.'

It is clear from these examples of the metaphorical language of Spenser that Rugoff errs when he argues that Spenserian convention precludes the use of money imagery to symbolize the good and the beautiful.

Like Spenser, George Gascoigne flays in bitter verse the acquisition of wealth, but uses riches metaphorically to represent things associated with tender emotions. His *Steel Glas* is a lengthy catalogue of greed which lists avaricious kings, covetous knights, venal soldiers, and greedy merchants, who in pursuit of gain

> Can find the meane to make Monopolyes
> Of every ware, that is accompted strange.[6]

Yet in 'The Lullabie of a Lover', Gascoigne addresses these lines to his small son:

> Eke Lullaby my loving boye,
> My little Robyn take thy rest,
> Since age is colde, and nothing coye,
> Keep close thy coyne, for so is best:
> With Lulla[b]y be thou content,
> With Lullaby thy lustes relent,
> Lette others pay which hath mo pence,
> Thou art too pore for such expense.[7]

Here the poet uses money to symbolize energy, which must be conserved by a young child.

Sir Thomas Wyatt, at the fountainhead of Petrarchian convention in English poetry, must be added to the list of those who write scornfully of money, yet use it in metaphor to describe things of beauty. In a satirical poem in which he lists items to prove that his standards are not those that the vulgar multitude observes, Wyatt writes that 'he that dithe for hungar of the gold'[8] he cannot call Alexander. In another satire in the form of a letter of advice to a friend, Wyatt offers cynical counsel about the gaining of wealth, then closes with these lines:

[6] *Complete Works*, ed. John W. Cunliffe (London, 1910), II, 162.

[7] Gascoigne, I, 44–45.

[8] *Collected Poems*, ed. Kenneth Muir (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), p. 186, ll. 47–48. All Wyatt quotations are from this edition.

. . . and if thou care for shame,
Content the then with honest pouertie,
With fre tong what the myslikes to blame,

And for thy trouth sumtyme aduersitie:
And therewith all this thing I shall the gyve—
In this worould now litle prosperite,
And coyne to kepe as water in a syve.[9]

The alternative to this life of honest poverty is, of course, an existence devoted to gain at the expense of human dignity. Yet in 'Me list no more to sing' Wyatt uses a treasure metaphor to represent his love songs. Having confessed that his songs were too diffuse, he asks:

What vailith vndre kaye
To kepe treasure alwaye,
That never shall se daye?
Yf yt be not vsid,
Yt is but abusid.[10]

A few stanzas later the poet equates pleasure, which should be enjoyed while it is in season, with treasure.

And as for siche treasure
That makithe the the richer,
And no dele the porer,
When it is gyven or lente
Me thinkes yt ware well spente.[11]

Another poet closely related to the Petrarchian tradition in English verse, Sir Philip Sidney, not only gives vent to his scorn of great wealth but also uses wealth as a symbol for the object of his love, Stella, 'The richest gem of love and life', in this sonnet:

Rich fooles there be, whose base and filthy hart,
Lyes hatching still the goods wherein they flow:
Damning themselves to *Tantalus* his smart,
Welth breeding want, more rich, more wretched grow.
Yet to those fooles, heaven doth such wit impart,
As what their hands doe hold, their heads doe know.
And knowing love, and loving lay apart,
As scattered things, farre from all dangers show.

[9] Wyatt, p. 193, ll. 85–91.
[10] Wyatt, p. 127, ll. 15–19.
[11] Wyatt, p. 128, ll. 35–39.

But that rich foole, whom by blind Fortunes lot,
The richest gem of love and life enjoyes,
And can with foule abuse such beauties blot:
Let him deprived of sweet, but unfelt joyes
Exilde for aye, from those high treasures which
He knowes not grow, in onely follie rich.[12]

Throughout *Astrophel and Stella* Sidney uses *wealth*, *treasure*, and other economic terms to define Stella's endearing qualities. In Sonnet XXII, where he writes of Stella's riding into the sun in company with some other ladies, the poet tells how the others guard their faces against the sun's rays; but Stella does not,

Either to doe like him, as carelesse shone:
Or carelesse of the welth, because her own.[13]

In Sonnet XXXV Sidney proclaims that

. . . long needie Fame
Doth ever grow rich, meaning my *Stellas* name.[14]

And in Sonnet LXVIII the poet, after calling Stella the 'World of my wealth', asks 'Why doost thou spend the Treasure of thy sprite?'[15]

We must, therefore, add Sidney's name to our growing list of those who express scorn for wealth, yet use it metaphorically to give luster to the things that they hold most dear.

Another poet in our category is Samuel Daniel, who argues in *Musophilus* that, compared to the joys of being a poet who will leave his verses for posterity to enjoy, the advantages of wealth are as nothing; for

. . . fruitlesse riches barriner then want,
Brings forth small worth from idle Libertie.[16]

Yet Daniel, like the other poets quoted here, does not despise wealth when it can serve as a metaphorical symbol for the good, the beautiful, or the true. Though in *Musophilus* he expresses preference for the ivory

[12] 'Sonnet XXIV', *Astrophel and Stella* in *The Complete Works*, ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1922), II, 252. All Sidney quotations are from this edition.

[13] Sidney, II, 251.

[14] Sidney, II, 257.

[15] Sidney, II, 269.

[16] *Complete Works*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (Spenser Society, 1885), I, 230, ll. 143–144. All Daniel quotations are from this edition.

tower of the poet, we shall see that Daniel turns to the counting house for his imagery in his first sonnet to Delia. He writes:

> Vnto the boundlesse Ocean of thy beautie,
> Runnes this poore Riuer, charg'd with streames of zeale:
> Returning thee the tribute of my dutie,
> Which here my loue, my youth, my plaints reueale.
> Here I vnclaspe the Booke of my charg'd soule,
> Where I haue cast th' accounts of all my care:
> Here haue I summ'd my sighs, here I inrole
> How they were spent for thee; look what they are:
> Looke on the deere expences of my youth,
> And see how iust I reckon with thine eies:
> Examine well thy beauty with my truth,
> And crosse my cares ere greater summes arise.
> Reade it (sweet maide) though it be done but sleightly;
> Who can shew all his loue, doth loue but lightly.[17]

Here the 'tribute of my dutie', the 'accounts of all my care', the 'summ'd sighs', and the 'deere expenses of my youth' all represent the poet's passion.

Daniel also uses treasure to represent the charms of woman. In 'The Complaint of Rosamond', the heroine, who has been forced to drink poison by the queen whose husband, the king, had wooed and won Rosamond, advises other women to 'Locke vp therefore the treasure of your loue';[18] warns against those who seek to undermine 'The treasurie that's vnpossest of any';[19] and asks her auditors to judge those 'whom chance depriues of sweetest treasure'.[20]

Since Caroline Spurgeon's well-known study of Shakespeare's imagery catalogues many examples of money metaphors in the plays, it would serve little purpose to repeat them here. It is, however, necessary to examine *The Rape of Lucrece* because in this poem Shakespeare uses symbols of wealth to represent both chastity and lust, happiness and misery.

Early in the poem, as Shakespeare, in an expository passage, tells us, Tarquin is on his way to ravish Lucrece because his passion had been

[17] Daniel, I, 37.
[18] Daniel, I, 106, l. 701.
[19] Daniel, I, 107, l. 727.
[20] Daniel, I, 109, l. 785.

stirred by the proud boasts of her husband, Collatine, who, the night before, in Tarquin's tent, had

> Unlock'd the treasure of his happy state;
> What priceless wealth the heavens had him lent
> In the possession of his beauteous mate;
> Reckoning his fortune at such high-proud rate,
> That kings might be espoused to more fame.[21]

Collatine's nuptial felicity is thus made known to us in terms of treasure, but Tarquin's lust for the same woman who gives Collatine such joy is also represented in terms of wealth. Having gained his way into the home of the trusting Lucrece as a guest, Tarquin lies in his bed contemplating the rape which is to bring about Lucrece's death and his own disgrace. Aware, at least in part, of the consequences of the deed that he has come to commit, he broods upon the matter, and of this brooding Shakespeare writes (ll. 131–140):

> Despair to gain doth traffic oft for gaining;
> And when great treasure is the meed proposed,
> Though death be adjunct, there's no death supposed.

> Those that much covet are with gain so fond,
> For what they have not, that which they possess
> They scatter and unloose it from their bond,
> And so, by hoping more, they have but less;
> Or, gaining more, the profit of excess
> Is but to surfeit, and such griefs sustain,
> That they prove bankrupt in this poor-rich gain.

Since both of the passages so far quoted from *The Rape of Lucrece* are expository portions of the poem, it is clear that Shakespeare, as the omniscient author, finds it to his purpose to use the same imagery to describe a devoted husband's lawful pride and a lecher's unholy lust for the wife of his friend and comrade in arms.

After Tarquin has raped Lucrece, his victim utters a lengthy soliloquy that contains, among many others, the following money metaphors. Speaking of her husband, she cries that Tarquin shall not

> . . . smile at thee in secret thought,
> Nor laugh with his companions at thy state;

[21] *The Complete Works*, ed. Hardin Craig (Chicago, 1951), p. 440, ll. 17–21. The following Shakespeare quotations are from this edition.

But thou shalt know thy interest was not bought
Basely with gold, but stol'n from forth thy gate.[22]

In this context, the word *interest* certainly has a connotation suggesting material value, for it is linked with the terms *bought* and *gold*, which are used literally.

In her bitterness, Lucrece proclaims that:

My stained blood to Tarquin I'll bequeath
Which by him tainted shall for him be spent,
And as his due writ in my testament.

These lines (1181–1183), which foreshadow the suicide of Lucrece, represent her stained virtue in terms which, when used literally, are appropriate only to the bequeathing of material wealth.

So great a storehouse of poetic imagery is the Shakespeare canon that an intensive study of the money imagery to be found there would unbalance this study, which is, after all, a sampling of the poetic diction of an entire period in English literature. Yet before we turn to our next poet, we can briefly notice one sonnet, the thirtieth, 'When to the sessions of sweet silent thought', where we find that Shakespeare moans 'the expense of many a vanished sight' and writes of his woes, 'Which I new pay as if not paid before'.

The somewhat obscure verse of George Chapman reveals the same dual use of financial terms as do the clear lines of Shakespeare and the other Renaissance poets that we have touched upon here. In his 'To liue with little' Chapman advises his readers with these verses:

When thou seest any rich, see what in sted
Of those his riches thou hast purchased.
If nothing, nothing fits such idle wretches.
If thou hast that, that makes thee need no riches,
Know thou hast more, and of a greater price,
And that which is to God a sacrifice.[23]

Here, worldly goods simply serve as foils to make spiritual values seem brighter by contrast.

Yet Chapman begins a commendatory poem appearing with Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* in this manner:

[22] Shakespeare, ll. 1065–1068.

[23] *The Poems*, ed. Phyllis Brooks Bartlett (New York, 1941), pp. 243–244. All Chapman quotations are from this edition.

So brings the wealth-contracting Ieweller
Pearles and deare Stones, from richest shores & streames,
As thy accomplisht Trauaile doth confer
From skill-inriched soules, their wealthier Gems;
So doth his hand enchase in ammeld Gould,
Cut, and adornd beyond their Natiue Merits,
His solid Flames, as thine hath here inrould
In more than Goulden Verse, those betterd spirits;
So he entreasures Princes Cabinets,
As thy Wealth will their wished Libraries.[24]

As Chapman's editor, Phyllis Brooks Bartlett, reminds us, 'Jonson used a great stock of classical sources for this play'.[25] In the light of this observation we see that Chapman refers to the 'skill in-riched soules' of the ancients as 'wealthier Gems', 'more than Goulden Verse', and 'Wealth'. Thus the lines of Jonson, laden as they are with rich borrowings from ancient writers, are jewels rarer than the precious stones of commerce. The lines from 'To liue with little' and the poem which introduces *Sejanus* make an interesting contrast in their use of money terms; for in 'To liue with little' Chapman contents himself with maintaining that spiritual values are better than the greatest wealth, while in the *Sejanus* poem he goes further, insisting metaphorically that the verses of Jonson are not only more valuable than the jewels of commerce but are themselves encrusted with priceless jewels and metals.

Since Milton A. Rugoff, whose analysis of John Donne's imagery we referred to at the beginning of this study, has classified the metaphors of his subject in much the same manner that Caroline Spurgeon has treated those of Shakespeare's plays, we need only borrow a sample or two from Rugoff's rich collection of money metaphors that are used to depict things of the fancy.

To a mistress Donne declares that '. . . his treasure (of letters and oaths), calculated to purchase her has been spent,

Yet no more can be due to mee
Then at the bargaine made was ment;

that now, moreover, there will be rivals who

. . . have their stocks intire, and can in teares,
In sighs, in oathes, and letters outbid mee,

[24] Chapman, 'In Seianum . . .', pp. 358–359, ll. 1–10.
[25] Bartlett, p. 472, n.

and in his epithalamion for Princess Elizabeth and the Count Palatine he describes passion as a coin in which lovers are rich—

> They quickly pay their debt, and then
> Take no acquittances, but pay again.[26]

But Donne, like our other poets, can write bitterly of gold when he has occasion to refer to it in its literal sense. In 'Elegie XI. The Bracelet', a poem upon the loss of a bauble of his mistress', he curses the finder by wishing him 'all the evils that gold ever wrought',[27] and in 'Elegie XX. Loves Warre' (ll. 17–18) he sings of the sterility of wealth in this couplet:

> And Midas joyes our Spanish journeys give,
> We touch all gold, but find no food to live.

George Herbert, like his master, John Donne, has a place in our list of poets who do not scorn to borrow the qualities of money to define fanciful things in metaphor, while expressing disdain for wealth in literal reference. In a poem fittingly called 'Avarice' which appears in *The Church*, Herbert writes:

> Money, thou bane of blisse, & sourse of wo,
> Whence com'st thou, that art so fresh and fine?
> I know thy parentage is base and low:
> Man found thee poore and dirtie in a mine.
> Surely thou didst so little contribute
> To this great kingdome, which thou now hast got,
> That he was fain, when thou wert destitute,
> To digge thee out of thy dark cave and grot:
> Then forcing thee by fire he made thee bright:
> Nay, thou hast got the face of man; for we
> Have with our stamp and seal transferr'd our right:
> Thou art the man, and man but dross to thee.
> Man calleth thee his wealth, who made thee rich;
> And while he digs out thee, falls in the ditch.[28]

Here in the extended metaphor of the metaphysical tradition Herbert expresses his scorn for money. Yet in the opening lines of *The Church*-

[26] Rugoff, p. 145.

[27] *The Poems*, ed. Herbert J. C. Grierson (Oxford, 1912), I, 99, l. 105. The following Donne quotations are from this edition.

[28] *Works*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford, 1941), p. 77. All Herbert quotations are from this edition.

porch (1–2), a poem for the guidance of young men about to take holy orders, Herbert addresses the novices in this way:

> Thou, whose sweet youth and early hopes inhance
> Thy rate and price, and mark thee for a treasure;
> Hearken unto a Verser . . . .

Thus by the alchemy of poetry Herbert transmutes wealth, the debaser of mankind, into a symbol of youth and early hopes.

Later in *The Church-porch* (ll. 109–110), Herbert advises his reader that

> The way to make thy sonne rich is to fill
> His minde with rest, before his trunk with riches.

Here we see that the poet uses riches to define happiness that is more valuable than wealth itself.

Still further on in *The Church-porch* (ll. 429–430) the reader can find this advice as the poet warns against passing judgments on preachers: 'Do not grudge | To pick out treasures from an earthen pot'. Thus the good qualities of a preacher who is externally crude are defined in terms of treasure.

In 'The Pearl', a poem that draws for its title upon the rich money imagery of Matthew xiii.45—where we learn that 'the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man seeking goodly pearls'—Herbert tells of his inner conflict before entering the church. There he writes that he knows the 'stock and surplus' of the ways of learning and 'the quick returns' of courtesy and wit. Yet knowing these things, he makes his choice with his eyes open and understanding

> Both the main sale, and the commodities;
> And at what rate and price I have thy love.[29]

Many other examples might be cited, but these should be sufficient to show that the Renaissance poets use imagery of gold, money, trade, hoarding, etc. to express not only what is 'gaudy', 'trash', 'poison to men's souls' but also what has the highest value, even the highest spiritual value.

University of Illinois, Chicago IRVING D. BLUM

[29] Herbert, *The Church*, pp. 88–89.

Ramist Method and the Commercial Mind

I

ONE of the persistent puzzles concerning Peter Ramus and his followers is the extraordinary diffusion of their works during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The general pathway of this diffusion has been well known since Waddington's *Ramus* in 1855. It proceeds chiefly through bourgeois Protestant groups of merchants and artisans more or less tinged with Calvinism. These groups are found not only in Ramus' native France, but especially in Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, England, Scotland, Scandinavia, and New England. Perry Miller's work, *The New England Mind: the Seventeenth Century*, is the most detailed study of Ramism in any such group. Such groups were moving into more openly influential positions socially and were improving themselves intellectually, and Ramism appeals to them as they move up. Ramus' works thus enjoyed particular favor not in highly sophisticated intellectual circles but rather in elementary or secondary schools or along the fringe where secondary schooling and university education meet. For the most part, despite a persistent but uneasy currency in some German university circles, Ramism never established itself firmly anywhere as a university movement.

But to note this well-marked general pathway of diffusion is not to explain Ramus' popularity, and within recent months scholars such as Professor Pierre Mesnard, Professor Neal W. Gilbert, and Dr. Wilhelm Risse declare themselves still puzzled by the quantity and popularity of works by Ramus and his literary associate Omer Talon.[1] These works

A French version of this paper, together with another paper by the same author, was presented at the International Conference on Renaissance Educators and Jurists held at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance at Tours 4 to 23 July 1960.

[1] Pierre Mesnard, review of Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958) and *Ramus and Talon Inventory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* XXI (1959), 568–576; Neal W. Gilbert, review of the same volumes in *Ren. News* XII (1959), 269–271; Wilhelm Risse, review of the same volumes in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* LXXXI, Heft 1 (1960), cols. 7–11.

run to nearly 800 known and identified editions represented by extant copies, or, if one numbers separately works published together, to some 1100 editions.[2] Almost all of these appeared between 1543 and about 1650. These figures represent only editions of works written by Ramus himself and, in much smaller numbers, by Talon, who died before Ramus after writing in collaboration with him for some years. They do not include any works about Ramus written by others or any of the countless works manifesting Ramus' influence which were published during this same period.

My own attempts to explain the appeal of the Ramist view of knowledge and of the educational process have focused in part upon the shift in sensibility marked by the development of typography. This shift brought western man to react to words less and less as sounds and more and more as items deployed in space. Printing made the location of words on a page the same in every copy of a particular edition, giving a text a fixed home in space impossible even to imagine effectively in a pretypographical culture. Printing thus heightened the value of the visual imagination and the visual memory over the auditory imagination and the auditory memory and made accessible a diagrammatic approach to knowledge such as is realized in the dichotomized tables which often accompanied the typographical treatment of a subject at the hands of Ramists and, to a lesser extent, of their contemporaries. Typography did more than merely 'spread' ideas. It gave urgency to the very metaphor that ideas were items which could be 'spread'.

My attempts to explain in part the currency of Ramism have also relied heavily upon certain pedagogical conditions and procedures due to the youth of most students. But I am quite aware that these explanations, whatever their value, do not account for everything in the spread of Ramism, for they stop short of showing why Ramus' works appeal to certain groups of persons more than to others. Supplementary explanations have been suggested. Gilbert conjectures that Ramism perhaps appealed to the Protestant ethic by providing a way of training students

[2] Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, p. 5, where the count is based on Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*. In the latter work, p. 14, I have conjectured that 'in all the countries together where Ramism appears there is perhaps a total of about two hundred further printings which might qualify as editions or adaptations of one or another of Ramus' and Talon's works' and which do not appear in the *Inventory*. Since publication of these two works, coöperative readers, among whom I must mention particularly Dr. Wilhelm Risse of Berlin, have supplied me with additional entries to the number of nearly thirty at present, a few of these being rare Scandinavian editions.

'to make useful contributions to the betterment of man's estate in the shortest possible time'.[3] Or perhaps Ramism served more particular religious needs. Ramus' development of Rudolph Agricola's argumentative logic to supersede Peter of Spain's less argumentative logic came at a time, Professor Howell believes, when argumentative logic was much in demand for religious controversies, and lost favor when a new demand for a logic of inquiry was met by Descartes.[4]

These suggestions have value, but, I believe, need still further supplementation. Ramists were not any more articulate about bettering man's estate than were those, such as Francis Bacon, who held Ramists in relative scorn. And, while Ramist logic was used by some religious controversialists, it was passed over almost completely unnoticed by others. Calvinists took to it most freely, but Catholics, Anglicans, most Lutherans, and many others who were in the heat of the religious fray paid it little heed and less respect. Indeed, its greatest currency was among masters in secondary schools, who were often far removed from actual religious controversy.[5] Although it is true that they may have been governed by some concern with such controversy, the proponents of Ramism produced with Ramist 'method' relatively little theology but rather works adapted for lawyers (as those by Johann Thomas Freige), arithmetics (by Heizo Buscher), and, often influenced by currents outside Ramism as well as by Ramus himself, polymath compendia presaging our modern encyclopedias (Freige's *Paedagogia* or Alsted's encyclopedic works). Theologians influenced by Ramism can be militant defenders of their own Protestant religious views, but when they are, the most prolific of them, such as Johannes Piscator or William Ames, tend to be systematizers and consolidators of lines of defense rather than debaters, and some, such as Thomas Granger, who published an English adaptation of Ramist logic for the use of divines, are remarkably free from contentiousness. Moreover, the collections of theological *loci* which are the armories for religious dispute lie outside the Ramist tradition, even when a Ramist such as Alsted did publish such things.

I do not mean to suggest that Ramist logic and rhetoric did not serve disputatious purposes, for they all too obviously did. But their use in disputation was subordinate to their use in education generally. Whereas

[3] Gilbert, *Ren. News* XII (1959), 271.

[4] Wilbur Samuel Howell, 'Ramus and the Decay of Dialogue', *Quar. Jour. of Speech* XLVI (1960), 90.

[5] Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory, passim.*

Ramist logics are seldom advertised as serving the purposes of debate, they frequently manifest an express concern with simplification for pedagogical purposes. Many editions, such as those for example prepared by Marcus Friedrich Wendelin, state explicitly on their title pages their usefulness for 'youthful beginners' (*tyrones adolescentes*).[6]

One of the difficulties in accounting for the appeal of Ramism is its complex relationship to the society which gave it birth and surrounded it. Elsewhere I have attempted to define Ramism as

> at root a cluster of mental habits evolving within a centuries-old educational tradition and specializing in certain kinds of concepts, based on simple spatial models, for conceiving of the mental and communicational processes and, by implication, of the extramental world.[7]

We can no longer be satisfied with a view which presents Ramus and his followers as revolutionaries whose aims can be defined in terms neatly opposed to a group of other academic persons, his enemies.

> Ramism has little which is *absolutely* distinctive of itself. Most things which originate in the Ramist camp—for example, the concept of 'logical analysis', which seems certainly to put in its first appearance among Ramists—soon prove so congenial to other 'systems' that they are quickly assimilated by them and, like logical analysis, seem always to have belonged to non-Ramists as well as to Ramists. What is really distinctive about Ramism is not one or another such item, but its special concentration of items, most of which can be discerned individually outside Ramist circles.[8]

II

Some new leads concerning the appeal of Ramism to the social groups espousing it have been opened by Professor R. Hooykaas of the Free University of Amsterdam in his excellent recent book *Humanisme, science, et réforme: Pierre de la Ramée* (*1515–1572*), published at Leyden in

[6] *Logicae institutiones tironum adolescentium captui accommodatae . . . a Marco Frederico Wendelino* (ed. novissima, Amsterdam, 1654). Among the many other editions advertising their pedagogical value on their title pages one might note: Beurhaus's 'pedagogical dialectic', *De P. Rami Dialectica praecipuis capitibus disputationes . . . et . . . comparationes: . . . paedagogiae logicae pars secunda* (Cologne, 1588), . . . *pars tertia* (Cologne, 1596); Freige's Ramist logic for beginners, *Logica ad usum rudiorum in epitomen redacta* ([Nürnberg?]: typis Gerlachianis, 1590); the editions published by Wéchel and Antonius 'with the commentaries omitted for the sake of studious youth', *Dialecticae libri duo, nunc in gratiam studiosae iuventutis absque commentariis in lucem editi* (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1591; Hanau, 1598; Hanau, 1600); etc.

[7] *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, p. 8.

[8] *Ibid.*

1958. Hooykaas treats Ramus' works without special attention either to the educational milieu or to the dialectic which, as 'the art of arts, the science of sciences, possessing the way to the principles of all curriculum subjects',[9] tied in the Ramist outlook with the educational milieu. Instead, Hooykaas' chief interest is the commercial world of the artisans and merchants in whose schools the Ramist curriculum took such strong hold. He traces a connection, carefully and with appropriate nuances, from the 'literary empiricism' of Ramus and other humanists to the 'scientific empiricism' of Bacon, which he finds congenial to the bourgeois mind. The connection is established largely through Ramus' interest in thinking in accord with 'nature', his emphasis on classroom exercises, the lip service he pays to 'induction', his interest in an astronomy without 'hypotheses' as manifest in his correspondence with George Joachim Rheticus, and his devotion to mathematics as a practical subject.[10] Ramus' commitment to the ideals of the bourgeois world, shown for example in his desire to found mathematics on the practice of bankers, merchants, architects, painters, and mechanics, is interpreted by Hooykaas as favoring a more empirical and experimental approach to science on the grounds that these last-named occupational groups were dealing with new problems and techniques which tended to encourage more empirical and experimental approaches to knowledge.

Hooykaas makes less of Ramus' talk about 'induction' than of his enthusiasm for *usus*, that is, classroom practice or exercise, in establishing the relationship of Ramus' educational aims and procedures to bourgeois culture. The break with older ways both among burghers generally and among Ramists in particular consisted more in an interest in pupil activity than in anything we should recognize today as experimentation or 'induction'. These points Hooykaas makes are valid and follow recent lines of thinking in discerning a certain intellectual fertility in the meeting of the artisan and academic minds during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But how far does a stress on *usus* explain Ramus' special appeal? Insistence on practice or exercise is hardly distinctive of Ramism. The humanists commonly exhibit the same emphasis, and Ignatius of Loyola found this stress so general at Paris that he recognizes it as the great difference between the educational procedure

[9] This definition of dialectic opens the *Summulae logicales* of Peter of Spain, against whom Ramus and other humanists rebelled. But the paramount rôle assigned by Peter to dialectic or logic was not by any means contested by Ramists.

[10] Hooykaas, *Humanisme, science, et réforme*, especially pp. 20–32, 64–90.

at Paris (*modus et ordo Parisiensis*) and that in other universities he knew.[11] Ramus, it is true, was known as the *usuarius*, but this *sobriquet* was apparently given him in mockery not because he alone talked of *usus* but because he made such an issue of *usus* during a hearing before the Parlement, at which his opponents give the impression that he was resorting to mere histrionics, since *usus* was a procedure to which none of them were particularly opposed.[12]

There are, however, other grounds besides those examined by Hooykaas which confirm his belief in the connection between the bourgeois mentality and the Ramist outlook. If the artisans' and the burghers' interest in induction and what Ramus styles *usus* is at times equivocal, their interest in manufacturing and commerce is patent and easy to deal with. I should like to suggest that one of the major features of Ramism is its tendency to reduce knowledge to something congenial to the artists' and burghers' commercial views. In particular, Ramus' central and controling concept of 'method', which Hooykaas largely passes over, gives evidence of what can legitimately be called a kind of intellectual commercialism. By this intellectual commercialism I do not mean a tendency of Ramus or his followers to be venal. I mean rather that in a veiled, unwitting, but nevertheless real fashion Ramus tends to regard the knowledge which he purveys in his arts as a commodity rather than as a wisdom.

Ramus lived in an age when the instruction of the universities was being organized still more efficiently with an eye to a 'consumer culture'. By comparison with the older university mind, the humanist mind was 'consumer oriented' to no small degree. Rudolph Agricola, Erasmus, Melanchthon, Sturm, and their congeners tended to be not representatives of a teachers' guild, as university masters were, but to be freer agents of the family in the preparation of its younger members for life in society. Typically, therefore, they were pupil-oriented, interested in the kind of person whom they were producing quite as much as in professional attitudes toward the subjects which they were teaching. The works on educational methods generated by humanism show the overpowering tendency to view knowledge in terms of those to whom it was purveyed.

[11] George E. Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University* (Milwaukee, 1954), p. 30.

[12] Adrien Turnèbe, *Disputatio ad librum Ciceronis de fato* (Paris, 1556), fol. 27; Nicolas de Nancel, *Petri Rami . . . vita*, in Nancel, *Declamationum liber . . .: addita est P. Rami . . . vita* (Paris, 1600), p. 36.

There is an obvious relationship between this mentality and the mentality of a commercial, merchandising world, where goods had to be thought of in terms of operations with a view to possible users or consumers. Ramist 'method' makes it possible to think of knowledge itself in terms of 'intake' and 'output' and 'consumption'—terms which were not familiar to the commercial world in Ramus' day, of course, but which do refer to realities present within that world.

III

The 'method' which Ramus proposes is central to the entire Ramist operation and to the movements which develop in the wake of Ramism. Nevertheless, the influence of Ramus' concept of method is not easy to trace with absolute precision. The concept itself is somewhat protean or chameleon-like, at times losing outline when it is applied—as Ramus insisted it should be—to every conceivable subject and to some which may strike us now as inconceivable. Basically, however, Ramist 'method' is a way of organizing discourse. In common with most of his contemporaries, and despite the attenuated rôle he assigned to rhetoric, Ramus assumed that the typical form of discourse was the oration, which, moreover, set out to 'prove' something. To avail oneself of Ramus' method, after first discovering 'arguments' which will prove what one wishes to say, one organizes the arguments into enunciations and syllogisms, and then, to relate the syllogisms to one another, one avails oneself of the principles of 'method'.[13] These principles are utterly simple: one proceeds from the better known to the less known, and this, Ramus insists, means always that one proceeds from what is general to what is particular.

Proposing his method as applying to all discourse whatsoever and assuming that oratory is discourse in its basic form, Ramus further assumes that the ultimate purpose of all oratory and of all discourse is to teach. Here he is following a line of thought feeding out of classical antiquity, but he is also yielding to and indeed strengthening the prejudices developed in the massive pedagogical tradition of the universities.[14] The process of teaching he refers immediately to the classroom. His

[13] For a full explanation of Ramist 'method' and the relevant texts in Ramus' works and the works of others, see my *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, especially pp. 225–269.

[14] Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, pp. 149–167.

favorite example of the use of method is its use to organize material presented in a course in grammar. The fact that this material is hardly comparable to that in an oration, that it is not 'found' by running through the 'arguments' (which non-Ramists usually called the places or commonplaces of invention), that it is not organized syllogistically, and that it is very difficult to see how the declension of nouns would be more 'general' than the conjugation of verbs, or vice versa, makes no great difference. All this and more does not deter Ramus from his insistence on a 'one and only method', from general to particular, applying first to curriculum subjects but also to all other discourse as well.

There is, of course, a very loose sense in which such a concept of method can apply to at least some portions of a book on grammar as well as to certain other instances of discourse. But Ramus strains this sense beyond all endurance. He makes only one concession to his rule of proceeding from the general to the particular. This is his 'method of prudence' or 'cryptic' method, which is used by orators and poets particularly. The 'method of prudence', however, turns out to be simply the usual method running backwards. It allows some particulars to appear before generalities. Such 'cryptic method', moreover, is used only in dealing with recalcitrant, unusually ignorant, or otherwise ill-disposed audiences, and for reasons which, it must be avowed, Ramus is at a loss to explain with any convincingness at all.

One of the curious features of Ramist method is that, although it is only a subordinate part of Ramus' dialectic, which rules all discourse, and the last part at that, it somehow or other envelopes the entire field of discourse. This it does because it governs the larger units of expression as wholes: a letter, a curriculum subject, an oration. When one has discovered all one's arguments and 'disposed' or arranged them in enunciations and syllogisms, 'method' thereupon determines how these are to be assembled for the total speech or other presentation. The 'one single method' of Ramus purportedly could organize anything, even, as it turned out, the Christian religion itself, which is methodized in Ramus' posthumously published *Commentaries on the Christian Religion* (*Commentariorum de religione Christiana libri quatuor*, 1576). Ramists took pride in the stubborn simplicity of their one-method views. Eight years after Ramus' death, his follower William Temple (1555–1627) is able to distinguish with horror no less than 110 different senses in which his anti-Ramist opponent Everard Digby attempts to employ the term 'method', urging the ease of the purportedly single-method Ramist approach

over this chaotic assortment of Digby's.[15] Nearly a hundred years after Ramus' death his followers are still sure of the complete serviceability of Ramist method in the face of no matter what intellectual crisis. Jan van Aelhuysen explains in his 1664 edition of Ramus' *Dialectic* that, just as dialectic is concerned with both being and nonbeing, so method is concerned not only with the arts but with absolutely everything whatsoever (*omnium omnino rerum*) which the poet or the orator or the historian or the philosopher wishes to teach (that is, to deal with in any way), even though such persons do at times stray a little from the way which they should follow.[16]

In part, this purportedly universal Ramist method represents literary humanism run wild. At first blush, it is true, the cold-blooded, analytical, diagrammatic, and even mechanistic view of communication which Ramus' concept of method implies makes any connection with the purely literary implausible. Ramists were, as a matter of fact, the least literary of people. They tended to be dry-as-dust analysts, polymaths with a penchant for classification. Nevertheless, it is a historical fact that Ramist method has its source in rhetoric. In *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* I have spelled out the way in which Melanchthon, Sturm, and Ramus had all found treatments of 'method' established first in a rhetorical context, in the works of Hermogenes and in letter-writing manuals, and how they simply transplanted this originally rhetorical method into their manuals of dialectic or logic and with no further ado styled it logical method from this point on. The transplantation took place between 1543 and 1547, and is all the more evident because all three authors had originally published treatments of dialectic or logic without this section on method which they tacked on later.[17]

Back of Melanchthon's, Sturm's, and Ramus' concept of method there lies nothing like any rigorous logical inquiry. 'Method', when they picked it up, signified a rule-of-thumb organization serving essentially practical rhetorical purposes—helping one to meet a situation in which one was called upon to say something. It did not properly belong to a logic of inquiry or a logic of speculation at all. For pedagogical reasons

[15] William Temple, *Admonitio Francisci Mildapetti* (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1589), pp. 97–100; this work was first published in 1580 at London.

[16] Ramus, *Dialectices libri duo, cum notis variorum quas colligit . . . I. van Aelhuysen* (Tiel, 1664), pp. 170–171 (lib. II, c. xviii).

[17] I am indebted to Dr. Wilhelm Risse of Berlin for pointing out to me that there are indications of interest in method to be found in Melanchthon rather earlier than I had suspected, although I have as yet been unable to follow up his valuable leads.

such a concept of method was transferred to logic, being rigidified in a mechanical sort of way in the process. This operation just before the mid-sixteenth century appears to have been the maneuver establishing the tradition that a treatise on method belonged in logic—as the age of Descartes was simply to assume. One has the impression that the assumption was an egregious blunder based on ignorance of intellectual history. The careful thinking which was supposed to underlie the conviction that method was a matter of strict, formal logic had in reality apparently never been done.

IV

The affinity between Ramist method as just described and the practical, down-to-earth outlook of burghers and artisans exists not as an explicit, declared relationship but rather in terms of a state of mind. Ramist method presented a view of the intellectual world congenial to the dealer in physical wares. The merchant and artisan were concerned with commodities, with things visible, definite, and things moreover demanding itemization and inventory. The peasant dealt with things too, but in a way closer to nature and less involved with account keeping. With the burgher, control achieved by a tally of wares was much more important. Recent studies such as Iris Origo's book on Francesco di Marto Datini, Professor John U. Nef's *Cultural Foundations of Industrial Civilization*, and others have shown the massive account keeping and the trend toward statistical analysis of operations which marked the development of commerce through the late middle ages and on past the Renaissance. Edgar Zilzel has traced connections between the growing capitalist economy and the development of the quantitative method in the physical sciences.[18]

The bourgeois world and the philosophical and religious worlds met often in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of course. Burghers and artisans did not always neglect the quest of wisdom, and still less the quest of union with God through Christian piety. But the world with which they habitually dealt day by day was somewhat less than Neoplatonic. It was concrete, resistant, sensible, and, if one was to make a profit, it had to be kept in a certain physical order. When a mind accustomed to such a world turned from it to the unfamiliar and misty realms of learning, Ramist method could be highly reassuring. It en-

[18] Edgar Zilzel, 'The Sociological Roots of Science', *American Journal of Sociology* XLVII (1941–1942), 544–562.

abled one to deal with the imponderables which haunted the world of learning and to deal with them on a basis more definite and orderly than had hitherto been available. If the definiteness was sometimes illusory and the order superficial or even irrelevant to the subject in hand, Ramism would of course not survive—as it did not survive. But learning was such a mystery that it would take some time before the deficiencies of any moderately plausible mode of facile organization could become evident to the minds to which the organization had great initial appeal.

It should be noted that Ramist method appealed primarily to a desire for order, not to a desire for experimentation. First of all, it was a method of organizing discourse, not of working with things. And secondly, even in the organization of discourse, it did not serve the purposes of either narration or description, which are paramount for dealing with experimentation. In its neglect of narrative and description in our present sense of these terms and its concentration upon oratory and 'teaching', upon moral or practical issues between men, Ramist education was like most education of the times. In the ordinary pedagogical tradition, which tended to consider history, poetry, and even letter-writing as forms of oratory, it was unthinkable to write about an individual 'objectively'. The whole purpose in speaking or writing of any one, as one can see in so standard a manual as Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata*, was to praise or blame him. Even in treating of inanimate objects, training in cold, objective uncommitted description is by and large simply not a part of formal education in the arts of language at least through the seventeenth century. Consequently it is very difficult to find a real connection between any pedagogical system, based as these generally were upon training in the language arts, and an experimental frame of mind. The pedagogy of the time bore hard on personal relations.

Nevertheless, within this framework the Ramist approach did favor a kind of objective view. By moving all questions of organization from rhetoric to dialectic and by concentrating there on 'method', Ramus takes what might be called an itemizing approach to discourse. Personal issues tend to pale in this climate, as discourse itself becomes highly diagrammatic in concept. Ramists did not train for objective description such as might have served an experimental approach to reality or even for narrative such as might have served Bacon's not too clear proposals for 'histories' of things, but they did inculcate an attitude toward discourse itself which made of discourse a kind of thing. Ramus helped make it plausible to dream of itemizing discourse and even thought it-

self. At this point his attitude becomes of great interest to the artisan and merchant mind.

V

Although Ramus presents method as part of dialectic or logic, the appeal of his concept of method to the artisan and merchant classes becomes particularly understandable when we consider it in connection with printing. Printing was developed by artisans and promoted by enterprising commercial interests—most of our knowledge of Gutenberg and his associates comes, significantly, from records of lawsuits. Whereas manuscript production had demanded copyists who belonged more to the world of letters than to the artisan's world, printing demanded large numbers of artisans. The compositor had to have some minimum literacy, but he did not have to be able to pronounce, much less to understand, the words which he was called upon to set in type. He was one more remove from the spoken word than the scribe had been. Basically his work was a transaction not in words but in local motion, for printed books were the products of an assembly line—perhaps the earliest real assembly line. This fact established a close connection between printing and the other crafts. At the same time, the growth of the book trade together with the increased production of reading matter which printing made possible gave book production a greater commercial importance after typography than before. We have long known that printing was a commercial enterprise, but our knowledge of the size and details of the enterprise is growing continually, thanks to detailed case studies such as the recent one by Robert M. Kingdon.[19]

Printing, however, involved not only the craftsmen and merchants, but the academic world as well. Indeed, it brought the crafts and commerce into direct contact with the world of learning more than ever before.[20] Across Europe in the sixteenth century we see persons and entire families directly involved in learning or teaching on the one hand and in publishing activity on the other. Johann Sturm in the Rhineland and Paris, Amerbach at Basel, and the Manutii in Italy, or the Rastells in England are typical examples.

[19] Robert M. Kingdon, 'The Plantin Breviaries: A Case Study in the Sixteenth-Century Business Operations of a Publishing House', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* XXII (1960), 133–150.

[20] For a recent study, see Curt F. Bühler, *The University and the Press in Fifteenth-Century Bologna* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1958, Texts and Studies in the History of Mediaeval Education, no. VII).

The mass-production methods utilized for bookmaking made it possible and indeed necessary to think of books less as representations of words serving for the communication of thought and more as things. Books came to be regarded more and more as products of crafts and as commodities to be merchandised. The word, living human speech, is here in a sense reified. Even before the advent of typography a marked reification of the word had been begun by the medieval terminist logicians, and elsewhere I have discussed in detail the psychological connections between terminist logic, the topical logic which succeeded it in the humanist age, and the development of attitudes toward communication favoring typography.[21] The terminist logic was indeed still represented at Paris in Ramus' youth or not long before by persons such as Juan de Celaya, John Dullaert, and John Major, and even later by Ramus' own defender Jean Quentin. But the terminist tradition had favored the reification of the word for intellectual purposes. This impulse to reification had come from the academy. When we view typographical developments from the burghers' standpoint, we see another type of drive to reification joining forces with the first. If the logicians wanted to hypostatize expression so as to subject it to formal analysis, the merchants were willing to hypostatize expression in order to sell it. Ramus' publisher André Wéchel, whose firm printed at least 172 different editions of one or another work of Ramus' or Talon's, shows a keen sense of Ramus' books as tangible realities, subject to inventory. He writes of them not as records of what has been said, as efforts at communication, but quite frankly as 'bear cubs', which Wéchel says this admirable author licked into shape through successive revised editions—much to Wéchel's profit, it might be added, and not too secret delight.[22]

VI

At this point Ramus' concept of method becomes particularly interesting because of the fact that his standard description of method is highly reminiscent of printing processes themselves, so that it enables one to

[21] Ong, 'System, Space, and Intellect in Renaissance Symbolism', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* XVIII (1956), 222–239; *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, pp. 307–314.

[22] Wéchel's preface in *A. Talaei Rhetorica, P. Rami praelectionibus illustrata* (ed. postrema, Paris: A. Wéchel, 1567). Ramus' adversary Jacques Charpentier (Carpentarius) also had referred to licking his own writings into shape, but before publication rather than after. See his *Descriptio universae naturae pars posterior* . . . (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1564), fol. *iij^{v} ('Carpentarius lectori').

impose organization on a subject by imagining it as made up of parts fixed in space much in the way in which words are locked into a printer's form.

In Ramus' standard description of method he imagines the rules, definitions, and divisions of grammar as having been 'found' by means of a kind of hunting expedition, as having been properly 'judged' (that is, put into enunciations), and as being thereupon written out on little slips of paper. The proper spatial arrangement of these slips, the more general first and the more particular last, comes next, he says, and calls for 'method', which, indeed, is the only part of dialectic or of any other art or science capable of telling how to arrange such slips of paper.[23] The association of method with writing is here evident, but even more evident is the similarity between the process of 'methodizing' these slips and the process of setting up type taken from a font. In each instance, the composition of continuous discourse is a matter of building up discourse by arranging preëxisting parts in a spatial pattern.

The effect of Ramus' concept of method upon the typographical format of his own textbooks has been discussed elsewhere.[24] In general, as these books evolve, they become more and more organized for visual, as against auditory, assimilation by the reader. Paragraphs and centered headings appear, tables are utilized more and more until occasionally whole folio editions are put out with every bit of the text worked piecemeal onto bracketed outlines in dichotomized divisions which show diagrammatically how 'specials' are subordinated to 'generals'. This increased sophistication in visual presentation is not restricted, of course, to Ramist writings, but is part of the evolution of typography, showing clearly how the use of printing moved the word away from its original association with sound and treated it more and more as a 'thing' in space. Nevertheless, in Ramist works this sort of evolution throws light on the Ramist concept of method, for words which admit of neat diagrammatic or semidiagrammatic presentation are those which are methodized properly, whereas those which resist such presentation are not effectively methodized. In principle, every subject properly treated by a Ramist admitted of being diagrammed on bracketed dichotomized

[23] Ramus, *Dialectici commentarii tres authore Audomaro Talaeo editi* (1546), p. 84—a work certainly by Ramus; see Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, no. 3. This description is repeated over and over again in later editions of Ramus' works on dialectic.

[24] Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, pp. 311–312.

outlines of the sort which editors such as Freige or Samuel Sabeticius[25] use to present Ramus' works. It should be noted that, while such outlines are not unknown in the pretypographical manuscript tradition, in this tradition they do not admit of the ready multiplication which printing makes possible. In manuscripts, diagrams are much more laborious productions than straight text, for manuscript copying only with great difficulty controls the position of material on the page. Typographical reproduction controls it automatically and inevitably. Ramist method is psychologically of a piece with typographical reproduction.

It is telling in this connection that Ramus' hostility to the pedagogical works on which he comments is generally directed against pretypographical productions and is uniformly grounded on their lack of 'method'. If Ramus did indeed defend his reputed anti-Aristotelian thesis, *Quaecumque ab Aristotele dicta essent commentitia esse*—for the story of his having defended such a thesis, as I have attempted to show elsewhere,[26] may be only a legend and not a fact—he quite evidently meant this to say not that Aristotle was untruthful (a common interpretation of the reported thesis) but rather that Aristotle's material was poorly organized, not properly controlled by 'method'. In other words, it was unsuited for the Gutenberg era. Even Aristotle, however, could conceivably be reformed by method, if one thought him worth the effort, and in the Ramist age there are in fact several examples of attempts to methodize him. Jacobus Martinus was one of those who set out to do just this, arranging Aristotle's logic with its common or general principles first and following these with its proper or special principles.[27]

VII

The accommodation of subjects to the spirit of the age by organizing them according to 'method' was, I have so far suggested, an accommodation to the artisan and merchant mind in so far as it reified the field of learning and discourse. In the highly spatialized Ramist concept of dialectic, the mysterious realm of knowledge was reduced to something one could manage, almost palpably handle. The arts and sciences could

[25] Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, no. 40.

[26] Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, pp. 37–41.

[27] *Iacobi Martini . . . Logicae Peripateticae per dichotomias in gratiam Ramistarum resolutae libri duo* (Wittenberg, 1614). In point of fact, this book tends to make Aristotle out as a Ramist.

be viewed as a mass of 'wares'. But there was another aspect of Ramist method which gave it appeal to the bourgeois groups among whom it was a favorite. It was very much like account keeping. The merchant not only deals in wares, but he has a way of keeping record of them which levels all sorts of items to the pages of an account book. Here the most diverse products are mingled on an equal footing—wool, wax, incense, coal, iron, and jewels—although they have nothing in common except commercial value. To handle a merchant's wares in terms of his account books, one need not trouble oneself with the nature of the wares. One has to know only the principles of accounting.

Ramist method offered the vision of a world of knowledge leveled in much the same businesslike way. A young boy taught the principles of method could feel assured in advance of control of any body of knowledge which might come his way. If he were intelligent, he might set out to organize all human knowledge according to some simple principles of method, confident even before he approached a new field that he would know quite well how to deal with it. This is the state of mind which produces polymaths in the Ramist tradition such as Johannes Piscator or Johann Heinrich Alsted. When one reads Alsted's huge encyclopedias one after another—for he produced several complete encyclopedias of his own—one cannot but be impressed with the order and sweep of the presentation. Only if one begins to read the text does one begin to wonder how much of this organization is concerned with really communicating anything at all vital about the material purportedly under consideration. And if one attempts to read aloud, one sees immediately that the effect is like that of reading an account book. The presentation of the material is thoroughly dependent upon the visualization of its various divisions and subdivisions. A methodic pattern is imposed adamantly upon the subject at hand, no matter what it is, not in order to understand it but to level it so that everything is of a piece with everything else, much as monetary values are assigned to different sorts of goods so that they can be 'balanced' against one another.

The tendency to look for an identical format for any and all knowledge is not new with the Ramists. The human mind always likes to simplify. But Ramists carried this tendency farther than most. Moreover, in doing so they took advantage of a current situation which made methodization and systematization particularly gratifying. There is no time when method and system are more valued than when one is faced with utter chaos. In the sixteenth century, and still more in the seven-

teenth century, knowledge was growing to an extent which dismayed even the most sanguine. How could one organize the new developments in knowledge or the burgeoning older fields such as geography and history which were asserting themselves more and more in the curricula? How could one even think of them as what we today call 'subjects'? Such a term was unknown, and the term 'art' was more or less sacrosanct, pretty well preëmpted by the standard subjects forming the base of the arts course, namely, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. The huge literature regarding the interrelationship of the sciences inherited from past ages was growing apace. Disputes raged as to what was the 'matter' and what the 'form' of the various branches of knowledge, and concepts concerned with organizing the various branches of learning floated confusingly about—concepts such as *technologia*, which the Ramist Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld says is 'the art of reducing terms to the liberal disciplines'.[28]

In this situation the idea of method was a godsend. In the face of growing knowledge, it gave courage. Any branch of knowledge, old or new, could be thrown together in any fashion whatsoever and called a 'method', as indeed all branches were. Before Ramus began to publish, the trend had started with titles such as Gemma Frisius' 'method' of practical arithmetic (*Arithmeticae practicae methodus*, 1540, 1544, etc.), or even Erasmus' earlier 'method' of true theology, *Ratio seu methodus perveniendi ad veram theologiam* (Strasbourg, 1521), and it continued through hundreds of other titles during the next three centuries. The list of 'method' books cannot be elaborated here, but a cross section of some of the early titles can be found in Neal W. Gilbert,[29] where it becomes apparent that the term is at first used almost exclusively for pedagogical works.

These treatises which style themselves 'methods', like the others styling themselves 'systems' or 'syntagmata' or 'apparatus' or 'ideas' or 'analyses' (which is often translated in English by 'resolves') of this or that subject, would still repay a great deal of investigation. It is quite impossible at present even to conjecture how many hundreds of pedagogical and parapedagogical works in the sixteenth and seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are built around such conceptions. It will be sufficient here, however, to note simply that all these approaches to knowl-

[28] J. H. Bisterfeld (Biesterfeld, Bisterfeldius), *Bisterfeldius redivivus* (The Hague, 1661), II (Part II), 37–41.

[29] *Renaissance Concepts of Method* (N. Y., 1960), pp. 233–235.

edge are approaches congenial to persons who habitually deal with reality in terms of accounting rather than in terms of meditation or wisdom. 'Method' is an early step in the procedures which encode knowledge in a neutral, leveling format, reducing it to bits of information such as those which will eventually make their way into electronic computers. From this point of view, Ramus' influence is felt not in terms of experimentation but in terms of calculators and business machines. Many rising commercial groups of course were prevented by various inhibiting factors from becoming interested in Ramism, but in those large groups where Ramism was adopted, the appeal of Ramist method as a somewhat cryptic but very real kind of accountant's approach to knowledge—and indirectly to reality—helps explain the extraordinary fascination which Ramist works had for the artisan and commercial mind.

St. Louis University WALTER J. ONG, S.J.

The Thought of Louis Le Roy according to his Early Pamphlets

MONG the authors of pamphlets in the sixteenth century there are many who achieved their reputation through works of larger dimensions but who nevertheless reveal interesting facets of their thought in their less ambitious writings. In most instances these tracts were the medium for news or for partisan comment upon the issues of the day. On other occasions these little books contained a rough draft of ideas which subsequently were given a modified or fuller expression. In either case the writer was likely to be spontaneous and rather casual about the manner of presentation, thus affording us an opportunity to witness the germination of his ideas. At the same time it stands to reason that the personality involved tends to disclose itself more freely during these relatively unguarded moments.

A case in point is Louis Le Roy. There is the Ciceronian Regius who wrote a life of the revered Budaeus, there is the careful translator and commentator of Plato and Aristotle, the professor of Greek, the political theorist who said of himself that he had chosen 'l'art politique pour y exercer principalement son industrie'.[1] But there is also the publicist, the polemicist, the moderate defender of the Catholic cause, the author of *écrits de circonstance*. While the humanist and the apologist should never be separated, and the *opuscula* naturally are part of the *opera*, it is nevertheless as a pamphleteer that Le Roy deserves fuller attention than he has heretofore received. What Becker said about the tracts in Latin, with which he dealt fully, certainly deserves to be extended to those in French: 'Ces livrets toutefois ne peuvent être négligés tout à fait. . . . Courts et occasionnels, ils sont assez sincères et un peu suggestifs: ils réflètent les opinions courantes et des préjugés aussi: ils nous apprennent quelles réflexions dictèrent à un érudit du temps certains événements

[1] Quoted by A. Henri Becker, from Le Roy's *Exhortation aux François* . . . (1570), on p. 212 of *Un Humaniste au XVIe siècle: Loys Le Roy (Ludovicus Regius) de Coutances* (Paris, 1896). This *thèse* is the only comprehensive study on Le Roy.

d'intérêt général; ils nous instruisent des moyens qu'un homme de lettres avait alors pour se pousser dans le monde' (p. 31). Becker did not fail to make some important entries on the French side of the ledger, but he did so with a slight air of contempt and he left some lacunae.

Among the nineteen Renaissance imprints of works by Louis Le Roy in the Newberry Library in Chicago, there are five pamphlets.[2] Actually, there are only three different tracts, two texts being reissues with two separate imprints for each. Of the three treatises only one was discussed by Becker, the often reprinted—seven times between 1562 and 1573—*Des differends et troubles advenans entre les hommes par la diversité des religions: ensemble du commencement, progrez, & excellence de la chrestienné*.[3] Seven printings of this *livret*, and six of the *Considération*, to be discussed later on, will make one wonder why the rate of survival of these pamphlets has been so poor, that is, if one forgets how perishable the little publications are. In this context Brunet's note on Le Roy *pamphlétaire* is worth quoting: 'Cet écrivain est d'ailleurs du petit nombre de ceux qui, au milieu du XVIe siècle, one cherché à donner du nombre et de l'harmonie à la prose française. Par ce motif, les différents opuscules qu'il a écrits dans notre langue doivent trouver leur place dans les grandes bibliothèques, et c'est ce qui nous a déterminé à en donner ici une liste sommaire. Ces opuscules sont presque tous devenus rares, et ils ne se trouvent guère que dans des recueils' (*Manuel du libraire*, III, 999).[4]

Although Le Roy was already fifty-two years old when it appeared

[2] The Newberry Library has about 2700 pamphlets of the period 1560–1650. I have surveyed certain areas of this collection in 'French Renaissance Pamphlets in the Newberry Library, I: The Debate between Philippe du Plessis-Mornay and Louis Dorléans', *Studi Francesi* IV (1960), 220–240, to be followed this year by Part II: 'History and Portents in Three Tracts by François de Belleforest'. The resources of this library are such that I could conduct this study entirely on the basis of the primary and secondary material available there, with one exception which I shall indicate in the proper place.

[3] This was the title of the first two editions, printed by Fédéric Morel in 1562 and 1563; in 1567 the initial words were reversed, *Des Troubles et differens* (without the *d*), and this title was maintained in the printings of 1568, 1569, 1572, and 1573. The copy in the Newberry Library is the one recorded by Lelong-Fontette, *Bibliothèque historique de la France* (Paris, 1768), II, no. 18023: Lyon, Benoist Rigaud, 1568. A. Cioranesco's new, fundamental inventory, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle* (Paris, 1959) lists the 1563 imprint; R. Barraux in the *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le seizième siècle*, ed. G. Grente (Paris, 1951) mentions the last (1573) printing. Barraux' bibliography is quite complete but his note on Le Roy is inadequate.

[4] Cf. Léon Feugère, *Essai sur la vie et les ouvrages de Henri Estienne* (Paris, 1853), p. 330: 'Le Roy, traducteur habile et auteur original, l'un de ceux qui apprirent par la pratique assidue de l'antiquité classique à donner du nombre et de l'harmonie à notre prose.'

in 1562, the *Des differends et troubles* was his first communication of pamphlet length written in French. The year of publication also indicates that it must have been written during the earliest stages of the wars of religion. The title would seem to suggest that Le Roy was mainly concerned with the consequences of religious dissension in general terms, without any particular emphasis upon the situation in France. Indeed this is so, and one could hardly guess that the author wrote under the impact of catastrophic events. In the long opening passage, there is a lament about man's inhumanity to man, 'en oubliant la civilité à laquelle ils [les hommes] sont naiz', and a catalogue of their misdeeds includes the ever-recurrent atrocities: 'Ils arrachent les enfans des ventres des meres, . . . violent les filles & femmes, . . . bruslent maisons, villes & chasteaux, destruisent temples, . . . s'entrepersecutans inhumainement en tout genre de cruauté.' All these misfortunes are staple fare in the books of the time, and Le Roy apparently has no trouble in preserving his equanimity. Rather, he would like to point out what an ideal solution a universal religion would be: 'Un regne resemblant au divin, ou le Prince (comme escrit Platon au politique) à l'exemple de Dieu aimast également toutes nations, les entretenant en bonnes loix, iugemens, ordre, paix, commerce asseurez, communication & affluence de biens' (12r, 1568 Lyon imprint). As he realizes that such a plan is utopian, he advocates a measure that would be more within the realm of possibility: 'Que si cela n'est faisable universellement, selon la portee & faculté humaine: à tout le moins qu'en chacune grande province il y ait un Chef [qui ait] le soing de conserver l'union civile' (12v). Becker is certainly right when he comments: 'Regius est plutôt banal dans ces pages où il fait ressortir le caractère naturel et saint de la religion, et particulièrement l'excellence de la chrétienne' (p. 223). And the fact that this 'mince livret . . . n'est pas déporvu de longueurs' is no doubt in part due to the fact that on twenty-one pages we find only four paragraph divisions.

However, on one point Becker surely is not in the same line of vision with Le Roy, as can be shown by quoting the latter through the former: 'Le Roy est surtout soucieux de réfuter les raisons d'innover. Mais au lieu de discuter les griefs précis des réformés, il s'attaque aux justifications les plus générales des changements dans l'Eglise. . . . Qu'allègue-t-on?—Que les choses humaines "de leur nature ne demeurent jamais en mesme état"; que tout évolue et change, moeurs, lois, sectes, empires, arts, langues et renommées, si bien que "la corruption de l'un est la

génération de l'autre". Même, d'autres, plus curieux, ont référé ceci au mouvement du ciel et à l'influence des planètes. . . . Ce sont de telles billevesées que Le Roy prend gravement à partie' (p. 225). These intuitions about the rise and fall of civilizations are hardly nonsensical. Also, Becker has barely hinted at Le Roy's attempts at an outline of the history of religions on a comparative basis. The conflict between Catholics and Protestants actually is dwarfed by the much deeper division between Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans, and this interest in extra-European thought helps us to understand why Le Roy was not greatly concerned with the description of local violence.[5] Therefore it seems hardly appropriate that we should wax indignant because Le Roy failed to make a clear statement about his own position in the fray and because he did not offer positive remedial suggestions. Le Roy was a moderate, with leanings towards the 'politiques', and thus he exposed himself, like Erasmus before him, to the attacks of those who were extremists, even among critics of a later age.[6]

The basic issues in the *Des Differends et troubles* were taken up more fully in two pamphlets that followed five years later. One of these, while not mentioned by Becker, has not escaped the attention of other scholars, the *Considération sur l'histoire françoise, et l'universelle de ce temps, dont les merveilles sont succinctement recitées, . . . ensemble trois préfaces*, dedicated to Catherine de' Medici.[7] Here again Fédéric Morel had the original *privilège* and Benoît Rigaud followed in his wake. The Newberry Library has the 1568 Lyon imprint, with the three *préfaces* (really *postfaces*), and also the 1570 reissue by Morel where the tripartite excursus has been omitted. The other tract seems to have gone virtually unnoticed, the *De l'Origine, antiquité, progrès, excellence et utilité de l'art politique. Ensemble des legislateurs plus renommez qui l'ont pratiquee, & des autheurs illustres qui en ont escrit, specialement Platon & Aristote . . .*, Paris, 1567, sm. 8vo., 20 leaves (two copies in the B.N.). This is the *editio*

[5] Cf. Geoffroy Atkinson, *Les Nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française* (Paris, 1935), in the section 'La Religion comparée', p. 411, where Atkinson precedes a quotation from *Des Troubles* by saying: 'Citons d'abord Loys Le Roy, qui semble avoir fait, en toute bonne foi, une séparation complète entre les "curiosités religieuses" apportées de l'étranger et la *vérité chrétienne*.'

[6] Le Roy no doubt would have been in sympathy with what Erasmus wrote to Luther from Louvain: 'Ego me, quoad licet, integrum seruo, quo magis prosim bonis literis reflorescentibus. Et mihi videtur plus profici ciuili modestia quam impetu. . . . Vbique cauendum ne quid arroganter aut factiose loquamur faciamusue' (letter of 30 May 1519, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen, Oxford, 1913, III, 605–607).

[7] First ed. 1567. Also 1568, 1571, 1579, 1588, all by Morel.

princeps of this little tract, and the enterprising printer was again Fédéric Morel, who did everything possible to further his two personal friends, Louis Le Roy and Joachim du Bellay.[8] The Newberry Library also has the only other separate printing of *De l'origine*, in the typographically inferior replica done by Rigaud (1568, 38 pp., not in B.N. or B.M. but fully described by Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, III, 254). The rarity of this pamphlet is also attested by the fact that it is the only hiatus in the 'Catalogue des livres mis en lumière par Loys Le Roy, tant de son invention que de sa traduction, soit en Latin, soit en François', prefixed to the 1600 edition of his translation *Les Politiques d'Aristote* (Paris: Ambroise Drouart). However, it would be wrong to conclude that the text of this *traicté* was not readily available to all those who were truly interested in the works of Le Roy: it appeared repeatedly in two places, and very soon after 1567: as an addendum to the *Considération*, mentioned above (in 1568, 1570, and 1571), and as a preamble to the *Aristote* (not yet in the first edition of the translation [1568], but in the second and third [1576, 1600]).

Le Roy dedicated *De l'Origine* upon its first appearance to Claude de l'Aubespine, diplomat and political trouble shooter under four French kings, beginning with Francis I, and in 1566 'Conseiller du Roy Treschrestien, & son Secretaire d'Estat, & de Finances'. The dedicatory letter is interesting because it reveals that Le Roy had originally planned to deliver this paper—because that is what we would call it today—as a public lecture, although at that time he had not yet been appointed lecturer at the Collège Royal.[9] However, this *aperçu* of the history and importance of political science, which was to be followed by an exposition of Plato and Aristotle, was not presented *coram publico*, at least not initially: 'Mais aucuns empeschemens survenans, avec les chaleurs, ont rompu ce mien desseing'. The real motive for the presentation in print was, no doubt, that Le Roy wanted to acknowledge in the then generally accepted manner 'la faveur que j'ay receuë de vous', and, as he says towards the end of this prelude, 'recognoistre le bien & plaisir qu'ay receu, & puis recevoir de iour en iour, par vostre ayde'. Since Le Roy was

[8] The only complete bibliographical description is in Joseph Dumoulin, *Vie et oeuvre de Fédéric Morel* (Paris, 1901), p. 188, no. 129. Cat. B.N. is somewhat briefer, omitting the dedication to Claude de l'Aubespine, and data concerning the *privilège*.

[9] Cf. the later *Deux oraisons françoises de Loys Le Roy prononcées par luy à Paris avant la lecture de Démosthène, . . . au mois de février 1575 . . .*, F. Morel, 1576. Le Roy had received his post as 'lecteur royal pour la langue grecque' in 1572, but unfortunately he reached this haven of security only five years before his death.

destitute, the help must have been quite modest, and hopes for additional and possibly more substantial support were quickly nullified through the death of his benefactor on 11 November 1567.

In this 'epistre dedicatoire', which is barely three pages long, the author also manages to explain with neatness and dispatch what he intends to offer in his lecture. Substantially this synopsis is identical with the information furnished by the full title of the treatise, that is, he wants to expound 'l'art politique' mainly on the basis of Plato and Aristotle, . . . *avec le sommaire de leurs Politiques, traduittes de grec en françois, & eclarcies d'expositions pour les accomoder aux meurs & affaires de ce temps.*

It is the last phase of his project which arrests our attention. Le Roy wants to do for 'la politique' what has already been achieved for the other branches of knowledge in the France of his time: 'Quiconque voudra considerer la restitution des bonnes lettres advenue en ce siecle, & l'ornement qu'ont recouvert les arts par la diligence de plusieurs hommes sçavans: il aura occasion de s'esmerveiller, voyant les moindres disciplines presque remises à leur entier: & la Politique, qui est la plus digne, plus utile & necessaire de toutes, estre demouree en arriere' (opening statement of *De l'origine*). Among the fields of endeavor where a high degree of perfection has been reached, Le Roy praises in particular the old liberal arts of the trivium, 'la Grammaire, Poësie, Rhetorique, & Dialectique', and those of the sciences which have brought about an extended knowledge of the universe: 'Iamais les Mathematiques ne furent plus cognuës, ny l'Astrologie & Cosmographie mieux entendues. Qu'est il rien plus admirable auiord'huy que de veoir tout le monde descouvert, dont une bonne partie estoit demouree incogneuë si long temps?' And from here he goes one step further when he says outright that the knowledge of the ancients has been equalled and even surpassed by men of the sixteenth century: 'Au regard de la Physique & Medecine, ie puis veritablement affermer qu'elles n'estoient en plus grande perfection entre les anciens Grecs & Arabes, qu'elles sont en ce temps: . . . lon a dressé beaucoup de remedes salutaires, non pratiquez auparavant.' The vast superiority of the modern implements of war must be apparent to every one. In the fine arts the degree of perfection may still be slightly below that of its ancient models: 'L'architecture, paincture, musique, sont presque remises à leur premier estat.' On the other hand, another apex has been reached in oratory and civil law where all the essential work has been done.

In this splendid record of achievement, 'la science politique'—and

Le Roy insists on calling it *science*, as we would today—'a esté delaissee sans recevoir encores aucune lumiere des lettres'. The reason for this neglect seems to be, according to him, that the scholars who would have been qualified to bring some life into this subject of statecraft were too busy with their inquisition of truth and abstract cogitations. An understanding of political science requires the combination of 'sçavoir & experience ensemble', and the author obviously feels that he has these qualifications.

Le Roy's eagerness to bring political science to the forefront is so great that later on in his exposition he appears inclined to depress some of the other disciplines in order to enhance as much as possible the one that is so badly in need of a vigorous *deffence et illustration*. We have seen that the opening phrases of his lecture ring out with a pure enthusiasm for the moderns and their partly unsurpassed and partly unsurpassable accomplishments. But about half an hour later our lecturer has shifted the emphasis from a general survey of contemporary achievements to a consideration of the relative importance of the various disciplines, and in the process of reviewing their merits, they lose out a little against his favorite: 'La Politique est la principale reigle de tous les arts liberaux & mecaniques, conduitte de tous exercices humains, mere de discipline, maistresse des moeurs.' No other art can possibly have such far-reaching connotations: 'La Grammaire, Rhetorique, Dialectique, servant seulement à mieux parler & discourir: la poësie au plaisir. . . . Les historiens sont souvent arguez de menterie, & n'accordent point. L'eloquence a tousiours esté suspecte. . . . La Theorie des Mathematiques, & consideration des mouvements naturelz est pour soy, non pour autruy. . . . La Medecine sert plus aux riches qu'aux pauvres', and other mild denigrations of the sort. However, if we keep in mind how urgent Le Roy's main objective was to him in this pamphlet, we should not be puzzled by this apparent lack of consistency. Furthermore, the effect is mitigated when we think of the whole presentation as the originally planned *oratio directa*, where Le Roy's dialectic method could easily have proved dramatically effective.

In brief, two issues stand out in the *De l'Origine*: the idea of progress, supported in particular by the peak achievements in the scientific field (*fait accompli*), and the need to lift political science to a similar level of perfection (*travail à faire*). It was Hubert Gillot who first recognized Le Roy's capital importance as an early advocate of the superiority of the moderns over the ancients. Le Roy predominates—with Jean Bodin

—in an entire chapter of his *La Querelle des anciens et des modernes en France* (Paris, 1914). Gillot, who drew a much wider arc than his predecessor Rigault had done,[10] quotes from or paraphrases practically all the major works of Le Roy, and in a footnote even refers to one of the later issues of our tract: 'Voir encore l'avant-propos des *Politiques* d'Aristote' (p. 150). The main source for Gillot and investigators after him was Le Roy's most important historical work, *De la Vicissitude ou variété des choses* . . ., a folio first published in 1575.[11] Some years later, Abel Lefranc called attention, however vaguely, to Le Roy's progressive outlook in scientific matters. In an article that was mainly aimed at achieving a redress for Le Roy, we read in the conclusion: 'Il est souverainement injuste que son nom ne soit pas prononcé dans nos histoires littéraires. . . . Ce qui devrait valoir à Louis Le Roy une place particulière dans l'histoire de la pensée française, c'est l'élévation de ses vues scientifiques. . . . Il réagit avec force contre le respect exagéré de l'antiquité, devinant en quelque sorte l'immense avenir réservé à la science.'[12] It was Herbert Weisinger who first converted these suggestions into something concrete, while not forgetting the groundwork done by Atkinson: 'There is no doubt that their [referring to Alvarez, Ramus, Surius, and Postel] optimism and confidence are based on their belief in progress grounded on science. In his *Of the Interchangeable Course, or Variety of Things*, Le Roy worked out the philosophy of progress in relation to science which is the manifesto of the moderns.'[13] The significance of this book has been newly assessed again, from a dif-

[10] *Histoire de la Querelle des anciens et des modernes* (Paris, 1856).

[11] An Italian translation by Hercole Cato (Venice: Aldo, 1585) was followed in 1594 by an English tr., *Of the Interchangeable Course, or Variety of Things* . . . (London: Ch. Yetsweirt). Cato shows in his dedication that he has understood the basic import of the work, but the English translator, Robert Ashley, who had already started off with a distortion of the title, considers it merely an epitome of history, very convenient for those 'who haue no time to fetch euery thing from the Fountaine'.

[12] 'Le Traité *De la Vicissitude ou variété des choses* de Louis Le Roy et sa véritable date', *Mélanges Lanson* (Paris, 1922), pp. 118, 119, 120. The basis of this article was rather tenuous, as it hinges on the fact that Becker had not seen the *editio princeps* of 1575, and thought the work had first appeared two years later (which would have placed it one year after Bodin's *La République*). Yet Becker had said himself on p. 399: 'L'exemplaire de la B.N. porte 1575.'

[13] 'Ideas of History During the Renaissance', *JHI* VI (1945), 415–435. The above quotation on p. 418. See also Weisinger's 'Renaissance Accounts of the Revival of Learning', *SP* XLV (1948), 105–118: 'It is evident that Le Roy has . . . worked out a comprehensive theory of the Renaissance. He makes the revival of learning part of a larger process which has taken place in all the civilized countries of the world and in many different disciplines' (p. 117).

ferent perspective, by Hans Baron in a recent article that elaborates in particular Hakewill's and Le Roy's concept of a cyclical course of history.[14] But there can be no doubt that the small *De l'origine* already contains 'sommairement les principaux poincts' of these ideas. The date of 1567 is pivotal in Le Roy's career because it places this treatise after his essentially 'classical' period (which never ceased entirely, as is proved by the *Politiques d'Aristote* of 1568 alone), but before all his historical works (among which the commentary on Aristotle counts again). Within this pattern, the *Des Troubles et differends* of 1562 can be considered a preamble.

If the *De l'Origine* represented a further step towards Le Roy's *summa* the *De la Vicissitude*, the same can be said, and to an even larger degree, of the other pamphlet which appeared in 1567, the *Considération sur l'histoire françoise, et l'universelle de ce temps, dont les merveilles sont succinctement recitées*. This tract is presented in letter form, and it is addressed 'A la Royne Mere du Roy', dated at the end 'A Paris, au mois Iuin, M.D.LXVII', a date we find repeated after the first of the three appended epistles, the one intended for Charles IX. The two other letters attached to the *Consideration* were addressed by Le Roy to the third and fourth sons of Catherine,[15] each message expressing admiration and willingness to serve. However, none of the letters has anything to do with the treatise itself, with the exception of some cursory references to the civil war which we find in the main part, and, with modifications, also in the letter to Charles IX. Le Roy himself had not entirely concealed the true contents, as can be seen from the second part of the title: *ensemble trois préfaces: l'une au Roy, l'autre à Monsieur d'Anjou son frere, sur les Politiques de Platon & Aristote, traduittes de grec en françois, & exclaircies d'expositions: la troisième à Monsieur d'Alençon autre frere du Roy, sur l'histoire politique recueillie des plus illustres estats du monde, anciens & modernes*. Here one feels like exclaiming with Becker, 'Voilà ce qui s'appelle un titre engageant!'[16] One immediately senses that at least some of this must be extraneous to 'Thoughts on the History of France'. Upon examination of the three prefatory letters which Le Roy wrote to

[14] 'The Querelle of the Ancients and the Moderns as a Problem of Renaissance Scholarship', *JHI* XX (1959), 3–22.

[15] Not counting Louis (1549–1550), who is generally omitted.

[16] Said by Becker apropos of the labyrinthic title of the *Consolatio in morte Henrici* (1560), addressed to Catherine de' Medici. The full title runs to some fifteen lines. I have not been able to see this *plaquette* in the original.

introduce his translations from Greek authors it becomes evident that the pamphlet-letters (as they may be called here for the sake of convenience) were first drafts of those that subsequently appeared in the quartos and folios. The sequence of publication makes this contention very plausible because the pamphlet-letters were first printed, together with the *Considération*, in 1567. The first appearance of *Les Politiques d'Aristote* belongs to the following year, with a letter of presentation 'Au treshault et excellent Prince Henry Duc d'Aniou & de Bourbon', which is the second of the pamphlet-letters in slightly altered form. Similarly, the *Enseignements d'Isocrates et Xenophon* were first printed by Michel de Vascosan in 1568, with a dedication to Charles IX. The first of the three pamphlet-letters contains the same text, but from one year to the next Le Roy had again made several changes, some of them stylistic, others affecting the contents. As a matter of fact, the time that had elapsed between the first and the second version amounted to less than a year because the pamphlet-letter is dated June 1567, whereas the revision which heads the *Enseignements* is dated February 1568. In this connection it is interesting to note that the original *lettres patentes* which granted Le Roy permission to have printed 'les Traductions & expositions des Politiques d'Aristote & de Platon' were dated 26 October 1556, and Morel is mentioned as the printer in charge. This *privilège* we find at the end of the *Considération* and also at the beginning of the *De l'Origine* of the same year, but when we turn to the *princeps* of *Les Politiques d'Aristote* (1568) we find the copyright given to Michel de Vascosan, 'auquel ledict Regius a donné lesdictz livres pour imprimer'. This switch need not surprise us because Vascosan was Morel's father-in-law, and Fédéric probably was asking for some relief in 1568 when he was so heavily engaged in the printing of works by Joachim du Bellay.

It would seem that Le Roy's weakness for multiple panegyrics could hardly have been flattering to all the potentates concerned, especially when the work presented was of such modest proportions as the *Considération*. Unfortunately this sort of double entry had taken his fancy as far back as 1559 when he reprinted in his collection of twelve letters in Latin one which had already appeared in 1553 as a separate pamphlet, addressed to the chancellor François Olivier (*Ludovici Regii Constantini De Francisco Connano consiliario*). The variations in the postlude to the *Considération* itself illustrate the same tendency: the three letters were omitted altogether in some printings (1571, 1579); in another we find in their place *un discours trés élégant sur le . . . royaume des Perses, et la*

nourriture de leurs roys (1588; it had first appeared separately in 1562), and on another occasion the title was altered (1568). Thus, if we ask ourselves why Le Roy remained a 'vieux mâtin affamé'[17] during practically all of his life—and nothing suggests that he was prodigal—perhaps we should answer that in his solicitations he tried too much with too little.

The textual variants in the 1567 and 1568 printings of the three dedicatory letters are interesting in themselves. Not that we can expect a notable modification in Le Roy's thought during the few months that had lapsed. Indeed the changes he made were variants in the true sense because a preoccupation with stylistic matters is evident, and furthermore Le Roy aimed at a more compact presentation. In the first letter, the one addressed to Charles IX, we encounter several passages of eloquent writing but a relative paucity of ideas. It is obvious that our 'treshumble serviteur' wants to stir the king's interest in political matters, whether modern French or Aristotelian, with the best rhetoric at his disposal. For a king who was seventeen years old and who had not yet shown any real concern in the problems of government, this was a significant moment. And perhaps Le Roy could get Charles interested in some good literature although Jacques Amyot, the largely unsuccessful preceptor to the prince, might have urged him not to try.

Le Roy presents Charles IX as a great traveler who has already proved that he likes to go among his people, roaming far and wide in his eagerness to see for himself what is going on. Of course there were other roving monarchs before him, 'mais ne s'en trouve point par les Histoires, qui ayent comme vous, en si peu de temps, avec telle compagnie & suitte, qui est ordinairement en vostre Court, visité le Royaume large & spacieux'. It goes without saying that Le Roy has far exaggerated the deeds of the young prince, and he did so with the obvious intent of *propono illi exempla ad imitandum.* As Le Roy had dated the original version of his letter June 1567, and since he speaks at one point of 'ce grand voyage' (in the singular), he must have referred to the journey Catherine de' Medici undertook with her son in July-August 1566, a tour which Pierre Champion called '*Un voyage d'agrément* . . . qui allait les mener à Écouen, à Chantilly, à Villers-Cotterets, et les conduire ensuite en Normandie, . . . destiné à montrer qu'on . . . ne faisait pas l'affaire

[17] Du Bellay, *Regrets,* Sonnet LXIX, where the poet reacted rather violently to a rumored *médisance* by Le Roy. In September 1588 everything between the two friends was serene again, but by that time Du Bellay had only a few months to live.

des réformés.'[18] Le Roy was rather generous to conclude that the travels of the young Charles proved his interest in peace and order. In any event, 'il est meilleur à un Prince bien gouverner & policer son estat, que d'envahir & occuper l'autruy'.

In the second part of his letter Le Roy advertises his translations of Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes: 'Si ne me suis-ie arresté seulement à traduire: mais i'ay d'avantage exposé les lieux plus difficiles de ces autheurs', and he would hardly have been a man of the Renaissance had he not thought that his work was 'd'aussi grande consequence que nulle autre qui ait encore esté faite en François'.[19] But this was not an idle boast: Regius the humanist and Le Roy the translator went to work 'aussi consciencieusement qu'il est possible de le souhaiter . . . ses lectures sont immenses' (Becker, p. 197). A point of interest here is that the 1568 letter contains references to Xenophon which were absent from the earlier redaction. There can be no doubt that Le Roy added the translation and commentary of a fragment from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (*The Education of Cyrus*) as an afterthought. The passage involved was short enough to have been rendered within a few months.[20] However, our *translateur* does not want to give the impression that this addendum was casually tacked on to the *Enseignements d'Isocrates*: 'Combien que les Enseignemens[21] d'Isocrates & de Xenophon tendent à

[18] *Charles IX: La France et le contrôle de l'Espagne* (Paris, [1949]), I, 28, 29.

[19] However, Le Roy did not have an exaggerated view of the translator's merits: 'Toutefois ie ne sçaurois nyer qu'il ne soit plus laborieux que louable: où la diligence assistee du iugement est plus requise que l'eminent sçavoir . . . De sorte qu'il ny a moyen de conduire une langue à perfection par traduction, & n'y eut iamais translateur pour suffisant qu'il fust, qui meritast mesme louange que son autheur' (*De la Vicissitude*, 1575, 23r, in the second book: 'De la vicissitude et varieté des langues').

[20] The section Le Roy picked can be found in the Loeb Classics ed. of the *Cyropaedia* (tr. by Walter Miller) in vol. I, bk. I, part v. 2 through vi. 46 (pp. 77–129 of the bilingual text; what Le Roy translated amounts to about 26 pp. of this small format). It is difficult to see why Becker did not deal with this translation, especially in view of the fact that this *vade mecum* for monarchs drew the attention of Renaissance readers not only in France (two translations), but also in Italy (Poggio Bracciolini, the earliest version in the vernacular, c. 1447), and in Spain (Diego Gracián, 1552). There are several reasons why Le Roy might have felt drawn towards this text, aside from the purely didactic considerations of the moment: the quality of the original ('In point of literary merit, it stands first among the writings of Xenophon': W. Miller); the prevalence of the dialogue form which links this work with *Le Timée* (1551), *Le Phédon* (1553), and *Le Sympose* (1559), all of these being earlier translations by Le Roy. Finally, the eulogy of the Persian constitution which, while it was given a largely fictitious presentation by Xenophon, nevertheless was in line with Le Roy's interest in oriental forms of government.

[21] *Enseignements* or *enseignemens*—both spellings occur.

mesme fin: neantmoins ilz sont differents en ce, qu'Isocrates qui fut homme paisible, traitte principalement les moyens concernans la paix & le regime politique: mais Xenophon qui estoit es lettres & es armes, poursuit ce qui appartient au faict de la guerre. Lesquelles choses ensemble sont nécessaires à un grand Prince . . .' (Vascosan imprint, 1568, p. 57). Thus Le Roy purports to give Charles a lesson in the art of war, exemplified through the exploits of Cyrus. The conclusion has a rather Machiavellian tinge: 'Nous tirerons de ce discours une conclusion, Qu'il est necessaire au Prince tendant à grandes conquestes, apprendre & prattiquer les Ruses militaires, sans lesquelles Cyrus ne fust iamais parvenu à telle grandeur qu'il parvint. Car souventefois l'astuce & habilieté sert plus en guerre que la force.' Thus, casting aside his earlier pacifist admonitions, our tutor advises the young ruler to follow the example of the Turks, who reached their present pinnacle of wealth, land and sea power through victories won 'par art & occasion'.

The other two letters (undated) which accompanied the *Considération sur l'histoire françoise* in the 1567 and some of the later editions are quite different in tone. The one addressed to 'le Duc d'Anjou et de Bourbon', the future Henry III, is so fusty that even a bright young man of sixteen must have had considerable trouble with it. Here Le Roy reveals himself again as a rather clumsy courtier, and one must admit that he hasn't made much progress since his first, awkward attempt at idolatry, the praise of Francis I in his otherwise auspicious literary debut, the biography of Guillaume Budé.[22] But no one could accuse the author of shallowness: in this letter the humanist is in command, and he makes no concessions to the adolescent mind. In the following year (1568), when Le Roy used the same letter to dedicate his translation of *Les Politiques d'Aristote*, he made again some corrections and some changes in the distribution of the text.

Without any introductory flourishes, Le Roy sets out to draw a parallel between the diversity of human beings who are so different despite their essentially identical physical make-up, and 'les peuples naissans en diverses parties du monde, differents en complexion: à sçavoir les septentrionaux dissemblables des meridionaux, & les moyens entr'eux demourans en pais temperé, plus prudents, plus ingenieux, & mieux condi-

[22] *G. Budaei viri Clariss. Vita* (Paris: J. Roigny, 1540). Becker quotes from the second (1542) ed., unaware of the difference in title and contents. The *editio princeps* is more valuable because it gives in addition not only letters by Budé but also a section *Doctorum hominum epigrammata in laudem Budaei* (pp. 49–53 [faulty pagination]).

tionez que les autres'.[23] What causes 'ceste diversité, & varieté tant admirable?' Le Roy answers by mentioning several theories that have been advanced in his time: 'Premierement les Physiciens estiment, qu'elle procede de la meslange de quatre humeurs, dont les corps humains sont composez.'[24] However, these basic determinants are modified through environment, thus producing certain more or less stereotyped national characteristics ('Les Espagnols hautains, Egyptiens legers, Africains desloyaux, Anglois & Ecossois fiers, Grecz cauteleux & subtils, Italiens advisez, François belliqueux').

Another reason why 'toutes choses cy bas soyent engendrees & corrompues, ou transmuees les unes aux autres' has been set forth by the astrologers. According to them, 'telle diversité de corps & d'entendement aux humains' is caused by 'les revolutions & influences des planettes assistees des autres Estoilles'. Even here, the basis remains the Galenic theory, only the modifier in this instance is not the climate of a given region but 'les rayons des Astres: dont elles [les humeurs] reçoivent diverses dispositions, que l'ame represente par apres en ses actions'. This statement is significant because it reflects not only the wide acceptance of astrological data at the court of Catherine de' Medici, but also Le Roy's essentially uncritical attitude in these matters.[25]

[23] This passage tempts one to indulge in some hasty sociology and anachronistic references to Montesquieu, Madame de Staël, and Buckle.

[24] We should not be startled by Le Roy's acceptance of the Galenic pathology of 'humors': even such a daring thinker as Servetus, born one year after Le Roy, calls Galen the traditional authority. Cf. Charles D. O'Malley, *Michael Servetus* (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 56: 'Even the seasoned practitioner was unwilling to oppose any conflicting experience to the word of the all-powerful Greek.' See also Charles Singer, *A Short History of Medicine* (Oxford, [1944]), p. 35: 'Until it began to be undermined by Robert Boyle (1627–91) and others in the seventeenth century, the doctrine of the four elements persisted in its entirety.'

[25] Another contemporary of Le Roy's was Nostradamus (1503–1566), and Catherine was completely convinced of the latter's prophetic powers. Cf. Eugène Defrance, *Catherine de Médicis: ses astrologues et ses magiciens-envoûteurs* (Paris, 1909), especially ch. VIII, 'Autres formes de la superstition de Catherine et l'influence de l'occultisme sur l'esprit de ses fils'. Le Roy's weakness for presages, despite a meek attempt at their rejection, was pointed out by Becker on the basis of the *Consolatio ad Catherinam* (1560), where the omens for the death of Henry II are enumerated with admiration rather than irony. Twenty years later Bodin's *La Démonomanie des sorciers* appeared. 'Que Bodin, malgré ses lumières, ait cru à la sorcellerie, comme beaucoup de ses contemporains, même éminents, il ne faudrait donc pas trop s'en étonner. . . . Mais ce qui donne à ce livre de la *Démonomanie* un caractère particulièrement fâcheux, c'est que l'auteur emploie tout un long volume à en démontrer la réalité' (Henri Baudrillart, *Jean Bodin et son temps*, Paris, 1853, p. 184). Astrology is of course not synonymous with occultism: Pico rejected the former while he accepted magic and the occult. However, astronomy and astrology were often

Finally, Le Roy makes room for the Platonic and Christian arguments, and here he allows himself more amplitude. He brings the Christian view into sharper relief by speaking first of 'aucuns Philosophes anciens [qui] ont pensé que les ames raisonnables estoyent prises & extraites de la divinité. Qu'avant que descendre du ciel en terre, lieu contraire à leur divinité & immortalité, elles estoyent pleines d'intelligences universelles, & de sciences: qu'elles oublyoient par la contagion du corps, en y venant habiter: mais apres, que par soin, estude & exercice, elles en recouvroyent la souvenance. . . . L'ame intelligente . . . peut estre disposee par les corps celestes.' As we would expect of a humanist of Le Roy's caliber, he can produce a good summary of the Platonic (or Neoplatonic) concept of creation. But he does not stop there: 'Les Chiestiens mieux appris en la verité, n'ont estimé la cause de ceste varieté devoir estre cherchee es complexions, ny es constellations, ny remise à l'inconstance de la fortune: . . . ains recognoissans le monde veritablement gouverné par la providence divine, & reduisans tout à icelle. . . . Dieu soigneux de toutes choses . . . distribue à diverses personnes, distinctes & differentes graces.'[26] Quite parenthetically we find here also a reference to the perfectibility of man that suggests the historian rather than the apologist of human nature: 'Veu que rien en sa premiere naissance n'est parfaict: ains precede tousiours quelque disposition, puis l'accomplissement.' Naturally the future Henry III has great potential—'le naturel que Dieu vous a donné tresbon'—and to bring it to fruition only two endeavors are essential: one is 'de s'accoustumer dés la premiere ieunesse à entendre & manier affairs'; the other is to read books 'par lesquels apprenez la maniere de bien gouverner les hommes'. Among the authors of such works Plato and Aristotle hold the front rank, and from here on the rest of the dedication is obvious. We sense that Le Roy was breathing easier once he had bridged the gulf between the heavy theoretical part of this letter and the amenities of the presentation at hand.

The third epistle that still separates us from the *Considération* need not detain us long. It was addressed to François Alençon (Hercules de Valois), the partly disfigured and highly suspicious fourth son of Cath-

---

confused during the sixteenth century (as, for instance, by Servetus).

[26] Other passages would have to be adduced in order to prove conclusively that Le Roy's deepest sympathies do in fact tend in this direction. On his adaptation of the Greek belief in immortality to the Christian view, see Henri Busson, *Le Rationalisme dans la littérature française de la Renaissance (1533–1601)*, nouv. éd. (Paris, 1957), pp. 284–285.

erine. Born in 1555, he was twelve years old when Le Roy put him in the lineage of those great men in history who were not only martial but also learned, e.g. 'Charles-maigne sceut Grec & Latin, & fonda l'Université de Paris'. Le Roy does not consider the moment premature to introduce himself and to offer his services: 'I'ay desiré des à present estre cogneu de vous, Monseigneur, & commencer à vous faire service.' The remark that follows shows that the three pamphlet-letters must be considered as a unit, and that the one to François was indeed the last one to be written: 'L'occasion est qu'ayant cy devant traduict de Grec en François, & esclarcy de commentaires, les Politiques de Platon & Aristote, dediees au Roy, & à Monseigneur d'Anjou, voz freres, i'ay pensé qu'il viendroit bien à propos de vous dedier aussi l'Histoire Politique, ou le receuil des estats anciens & modernes, que i'ay dressé avec grand labeur, pour y adiouster, observant leurs commencements, progrez, durees, revenus, forces, puissances, decadences, changemens, ruines: essayant rendre raison de ces accidents selon les reigles & preceptes de l'art politique.' Not only did Le Roy work on a great inventory of the past but he has also attempted a comparative study of the various forms of government, 'rapportant les Empires aux Empires, Royaumes a Royaumes, Seigneuries a Siegneuries, Republiques a Republiques', whether they be European, Assyrian, Egyptian, or Persian. This reads very much like a preliminary synopsis of book VII of *De la Vicissitude ou varieté des choses en l'univers*.[27]

Towards the end of the letter we find a hint that this *magnum opus* is still at the level of work in progress: 'Laquelle oeuvre, Monseigneur, vous plaira des ceste heure, comme ie croy'. This would seem to imply that Le Roy submitted an outline or a few chapters. In any case, the reference clearly is to the *Vicissitude*, although Le Roy still speaks in more generic terms of an 'Histoire Politique'. He never published a work with that title. By the time *De la Vicissitude* was ready for the printer, Alençon had just been arrested (March 1574),[28] and the crowned Henry had been called back from Poland by his mother shortly afterwards (May 1574). We only have to read the first sentence of the dedi-

[27] '*Livre VII*: Comparaison des Romains avec les Egyptiens, Assyriens, Perses. . . . De L'Empire Romain avec l'Assyrien, Medien, Persien, Macedonien, Partique, etc.' References to the cyclic view of history, which crop up also in this letter, are dispersed throughout the *Vicissitude*.

[28] For a plain account of the abortive conspiracy of the 'politiques' that brought about his arrest, see Ralph Roeder, *Catherine de' Medici and the Lost Revolution* (N. Y., 1937), pp. 508–509.

cation of Le Roy's chief historical work in order to see how this rapid succession of events had made him hitch his wagon to the newly risen star: 'Sire, s'esiouissans infiniement tous voz bons suiects en public & en privé à vostre heureux & desiré retour de Pologne, & offrans à vous faire service agreable en diverses manieres.' However, we should hardly reprimand Le Roy for not having followed through with the perfidious Alençon, an upstart who had attempted to recreate the incident of Meaux in bigger and more conclusive terms.

We can summarize briefly the importance of these three letters by saying that they constitute a rough draft of some of the leading strains of Le Roy's thought. Only the first of these *trois préfaces* draws some lifeblood from the French events of the day, while the other two consist primarily of theoretical disquisitions which make for rather difficult reading. All of the letters portend fuller formulations of Le Roy's ideas on history, but they also throw new light on some of the characteristic traits of their author. However, in no way do they have a bearing upon the tract which they accompanied, and Morel used good judgment in dropping them from the *Considération* after the first issue. At the same time, Rigaud rendered an appreciable service by keeping them on record through his reprint.[29]

The *Considération sur l'histoire françoise, et l'universelle de ce temps, dont les merveilles sont succinctement recitées* has the most ambitious title of the pamphlets under discussion here. One wonders, how could an author compress such a topic within the narrow confines of a small octavo brochure that counts but fifteen leaves?[30] As we shall see, Le Roy manages quite well to state *succinctement* what he considers to be essential from his point of view as a historian, and he still has enough room left to make an involved gambit for favors.

Addressing the 'excellente Dame Madame Catherine Royne de France', Le Roy first apologizes that he has not found it within his powers to revise and continue the annals of France, an assignment the queen had given him some time ago: although he has not abandoned

[29] Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, III, 175, 176, has this to say about Rigaud's activities: 'Rigaud fut pendant quelques années l'imprimeur du gouvernement du Lyonnais et créa ou plutôt développa, à Lyon, le commerce des livres à bon marché. Malheureusement l'impression et le papier de ses publications se ressentent beaucoup trop des effets de cette innovation. . . . Rigaud remettait l'impression de ses publications à de nombreux imprimeurs généralement plus soucieux du bénéfice que de l'élégance.'

[30] In the 1570 F. Morel imprint (without the letters), which I am following for the *Considération*.

such an honorable project, he is overwhelmed by the immense task of 'redresser Annales tant mal digerees'. For the time being, our delinquent historiographer wants to make amends by presenting a small segment of the most recent history of France, beginning with the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis and the death of Henry II. Since these events took place on 3 April and 10 July 1559, and the *privilège* of the *Considération* is dated 26 October 1559, we must say that Le Roy was quite modest in this instance. But of course these were eventful years and Le Roy could have presented Catherine with a long account, had he chosen to pay that much attention to internal French affairs.

The early part of the tract, dealing with *L'histoire françoise*, proves again that so far as the events in his own country were concerned, Le Roy was a detached observer rather than a partisan fighter.[31] The tone of the jeremiad is about the same as before: '. . . maisons pilees . . . rivieres rougies de sang humain, chemins & champs couverts de personnes cruellement massacrees'. In fact, 'Quelle sorte de malheur pourroit on imaginer ou penser, qui ne soit advenue en cest aage?'[32] Posterity will no doubt marvel at some of the cruelties perpetrated during this century. Not that the distant past has been spared such incidents—and here Le Roy sees a fine opportunity to revel in his knowledge of notorious misdeeds, and he sets up a veritable rogues' gallery, headed by the Sultan Soliman.[33] This in turn gives our author a chance to extol the virtues of Catherine, because the greatness of a ruler must be seen in the perspective of the difficulties he masters. Here again, the past can offer some glorious examples, but none could equal 'l'illustre maison de Medicis (d'ou vous estes sortie)'.

Then Le Roy proceeds to talk about France in more specific terms: her geographical location, her wealth, and her political power are such that her neighbors look upon her as a bastion of Christendom. Therefore her every move will be paralleled by moves abroad, 'confedera-

[31] The title of Le Roy's *Exhortation aux François pour vivre en concorde et jouir du bien de la paix* (F. Morel, 1570) suggests a more forceful participation on the author's part, but even here a strange apathy prevails. In this instance, it is not necessary to temper Becker's criticism: 'A vrai dire, Regius donne au lecteur une médiocre satisfaction. De la lutte religieuse et de la crise politique liées ensemble, ni les origines sont expliquées avec justesse, ni les solutions aperçues avec satisfaisante clairvoyance' (*Loys Le Roy*, p. 232).

[32] 'Corrected' by Rigaud into '*Qu'elle* sorte . . .'!

[33] 3^v and 4^r. On the latter page we find a reference to 'la religion mahumetique' where in the Newberry copy a contemporary dissident crossed out the words *la religion* and wrote above *loppinion*!

tions, alliances, intelligences & correspondances'. It is at this point that the view broadens perceptibly and we find Le Roy in his medium when he sees the workings of political understanding or misunderstanding on an international scale: 'En telle maniere les affaires du monde liez & correspondants ensemble, ne peuvent estre bien entendus les uns sans les autres', and one has to agree here with the early reader (see footnote 33) who underlined this passage because he found it particularly worthy of attention.[34] This 'correspondance generale de l'Europe, Asie, Afrique, & des Terres neufves' is of course symptomatic of Renaissance thinking rather than exceptional, but Le Roy has given it an unusually forceful expression.[35] After having drawn a rapid sketch of some of the outstanding intellectual achievements of the past, while keeping his sights on some of the pinnacles of the Greco-Roman world, Le Roy does not appear to be the least bit abashed by the status of his own age, which comprises 'le passé siecle' as well as his own. Thus Le Roy considers himself the child of an era which started, roughly, in 1400. However, he remains quite flexible about the beginning of this period, and he reveals here a lack of dogmatic insistence which would grace many a more recent historian.

[34] Cf. Atkinson, *Nouveaux horizons*, section 'L'Idée du progrès', p. 405: 'Il est remarquable que Le Roy ait énoncé le principe historique que *les affaires du monde, liées ensemble, ne peuvent être bien entendues, ni comprises dans une histoire parfaite, les unes sans les autres*, en parlant des quatre continents, en 1567. Il est tout aussi intéressant qu'il ait nié le *malthusianisme* des historiens du XVIe siècle, en alléguant la longue durée du monde civilisé' (his italics, referring to the *Considération*).

[35] About fifty years before Le Roy we already find in Giovio a similar broadening of the horizon. Cf. Federico Chabod, *Paolo Giovio* (estratto dal vol. XXXVIII del *Periodico della Soc. Storica Comense*, Como, 1954): 'La vera e maggiore novità della *Storia* di Paolo Giovio sta nell'aver ampliato l'orizzonte del quadro, nell'aver fatto assurgere in primo piano popoli ed eventi sino a lui trascurati . . .' (p. 19). 'Primo fra tutti, Paolo Giovio dà agli eventi del vicino oriente importanza fondamentale anche per gli eventi propriamente europei' (p. 20). 'Ma proprio perchè il pericolo è sentito con tanta—e giustificata—urgenza . . . il Giovio della *Storia* porta in primo piano . . . l'impero turco' (*ibid.*). 'Qualcosa di nuovo s'avverte, entro queste pagine: qui stiamo andando fuori dei classici schemi della civiltà umanistica, rinascimentale; qui s'avverte un soffio diverso che giunge da lidi lontani e sinora rimasti sostanzialmente estranei alle preoccupazioni dei nostri scrittori. Siamo, di già, sulla via che nella seconda metà del secolo sfocerà nella fitta serie di volumi di viaggi e discrizioni geografiche' (p. 22). It is patent that practically all of these observations could be applied to Le Roy. For Montaigne's not insignificant debt to Giovio, whenever he introduces *orientalia*, see the Strowski-Gebelin-Villey ed., IV, 'Les Sources des *Essais*', Table des ouvrages possédés par Montaigne, p. XXXVI, where the 1553 (Vascosan) imprint of the *Historiarum sui temporis tomus* is mentioned. Le Roy might easily have known the same edition, but the *Essais* do not reveal any direct contact with his works.

In fervent words which by now have a familiar ring to us, Le Roy praises the progress that has been made in his own time: 'Car depuis cent ans ne sont seulement venues en evidence les choses, qui estoient au paravant couvertes par les tenebres d'ignorance: mais aussi plusieurs autres cognuës, qui avoient esté entierement ignorées des anciens: nouvelles mers, nouvelles terres, nouvelles façons d'hommes, meurs, loix, coustumes, nouvelles herbes, arbres, gommes, liqueurs, fruicts, mineraux, oiseaux, poissons, & autres animaux, nouveaux chemins du ciel & de l'ocean non encores essayez, nouvelles estoiles vuës, nouvelles inventions trouvées, comme de l'Imprimerie, Artillerie, & l'usage de l'eguille & de l'aymant pour les navigans. Les langues restituées, les moyens de faire la guerre, d'assieger & prendre fortresses bien differents, & plus aspres, que ceux du passé' (f. 9).[36] The time has also come to call attention to the recently emerged 'barbaric' powers, and to pit them against their ancient counterparts: 'Les Monarchies de Constantinople, du grand Cham, de Cathai, du Moscovite, non moins puissantes qu'estoient les anciennes tant renommees'.[37] The sweep of this passage is impressive and Le Roy has sung here, as it were, his own '*hymne de la Renaissance*', keyed to a glowing optimism. In fact, Le Roy urges his readers to derive strength and hope from this consciousness of a great age: 'Ce consideré, devons plus moderément supporter les calamitez survenues, & qui surviennent en cest aage.' He takes issue with the pessimists who always say that things are going from bad to worse: 'Aucuns pensent que les hommes vont tousiours en amoindrissant, & que les choses humaines en empirant: si ainsi estoit, au long temps que le monde a déia duré, nous serions tous entierement aneantis, & n'y auroit plus rien qui vallust entre nous.' There are good and bad phases in the activities of mankind. The explanation he gives of these fluctuations is curious because it shows again that Le Roy, when he is not on his guard, is wont to look to the stars for powers which he ascribes elsewhere to divine providence: 'selon les aspects, oppositions, coniunctions, distances, apparences, cachemens des astres, descendent ça bas diverses influences, rendant les hommes plus disposez en l'une saison qu'en l'autre à la vertu, aux lettres,

[36] Cf. the summary of Book x of *De la Vicissitude*: 'Comment en cest aage ont esté restituees les langues & disciplines, apres qu'elles avoient esté delaissees environ douze cent ans, ayans receu de nouveau grande lumiere & addition, où sont considerees les merveilles du siecle present par l'Europe, Asie, Affrique, terres neuves, en Orient, Occident, Septentrion, Midy.'

[37] Cf. Giovio, *Delle cose della Moscovia* . . . (seen in Giov. Battista Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi* . . ., Venice, 1606–1613, II, f. 131–137).

& aux armes: puis sortans de la mesme cause celeste grands & espouvantables evenemens de guerres, famines, pestes . . . selon que les parties du ciel & de la terre correspondent, & que la matiere est disposee' (9v and 10r). This is one of the passages that probably would have vexed Henri Becker, but this astrological interlude should not obfuscate our view of the bright observation that follows immediately—one of Le Roy's best presentations of the cyclic concept of events, in the guise of a vivid image: 'Que commençant aux [choses] necessaires lon vienne peu à peu à l'ornement, & à l'opulence: puis montees au plushaut, trebuscher tantost en bas, & aller en decadence: ressemblant nature à la terre, laquelle apres avoir esté labouree quelque temps, se lasse, & ne produit que mauvaises herbes, iusques à ce que par le repos elle reprenne vigueur.' There is, then, in this precursory pamphlet already (as Hans Baron has pointed out for the *De la Vicissitude*) an interpretation of the cycle image, with emphasis on the immanent necessity of a new beginning after every decay.[38]

Le Roy regrets that it is not within his grasp to view all these changes in their true perspective, nor can he see all that is being accomplished in the remote parts of the world. To this feeling of inadequacy he attaches a naïve wish, but it is a wish that many another man of his age would have wanted to express in his own way: 'Et pour en avoir meilleure & plus seure cognoissance, ie me soubhaiterois maintenant estre elevé en quelque lieu treshaut & treseminent, d'ou ie peusse contempler sans passion la condition presente du monde inferieur, & toute la face de la terre habitable' (10v). Then he could embrace all the wonderful achieve-

[38] Baron, after having summarized Le Roy's defense of the moderns, points out that this is only one important aspect of the *De la Vicissitude*: 'These passages have often been praised as having been inspired by the new inventions—as harbingers of the modern ideas of progress and perfectibility. But they are found in the concluding pages of a work whose preceding eleven books present a most comprehensive view of the 'cyclical' view of history' (*art. cit.*, p. 8). In fact Le Roy's historical testament is teeming with examples of this continuous cycle of birth, growth, perfection, decay, death, rebirth, e.g. 'Par mesme ordre & vicissitude pareille les disciplines estans petites au commencement augmentent peu à peu & montent à leur perfection: où apres que sont parvenues deschoient tantost, & finablement perissent. . . . Puis quand elles ont esté quelque temps delaissees, se remettent sus autrefois, & successivement recouvrent leur valeur precedente.' Similarly, of languages (recalling Du Bellay's analogy with the life of plants, in the *Deffence*): 'Elles ont commencement, duree, perfection, corruption, alteration. Aucunes sont entierement perduës, les autres naissent des precedentes corrompues & meslees. Les autres aprez avoir esté longuement aneanties sont restituees' (both passages in *Vicissitude*, 15v). For a striking modern parallel, see the opening paragraph of vol. v of Toynbee's *A Study of History* ('The Disintegration of Civilizations').

ments of his age—and another inventory of these glories follows, with emphasis upon the progress in remote places ('le commerce universellement ouvert, & les gents tant esloignez s'entrevisiter', etc.). But he would also be able to contemplate 'la varieté & instabilité des choses humaines . . . [les] royaumes [et les] empires dont les uns s'elevant, les autres vont en decadence'. Le Roy savors this vision, this illusion of a power that would enable him to survey everything, and even to penetrate, if his eyes could reach that far, 'iusques aux coeurs & entendement des premiers du monde'. This dream, if it could ever be realized, would not be the fulfillment of a selfish desire that would remain without benefit to the world. No, if it were granted to him ever to get such a universal view of human activities, 'ie cognoistrois tous les affaires du temps present pour les transmettre à la posterité par vraye histoire que ie dresserois volontiers, si i'avois la suffisance, sur le patron des anciens . . . comme Herodote & Thucydide Grecs, Salluste & Tite Live Latins.' From each of these he would imitate the best part of their method, but not their language—and here Le Roy stresses a point that links him again with Du Bellay and a principle dear to the *Pléiade*: I would write such a universal history, he says, 'en nostre langue naturelle, ainsi qu'ils [les anciens] ont fait és leurs'. However, since the world cannot be seen from such an all-encompassing peak, which is not within the reach of mortal man, one has to proceed more modestly, 'par diligente observation & recherche des affaires ainsi qu'ils vont'.

We anticipate that Le Roy is closing the circle here and that he is about to address Catherine again, possibly with a further hint of his potential as official historiographer to the 'maison de France, & de vostre Maiesté'. Indeed he could not miss this opportunity to appear before the queen once more. This time, with a commendable performance just completed, our courtier becomes a little bolder: 'En quoy, Madame, pourriez plus donner de faveur & avancement que nul autre, s'il vous venoit à gré de ce faire', gingerly avoiding any further mention of his defection. But just as Le Roy never fails to offer something worth while when he speaks as a historian, just as surely does he stumble awkwardly when he asks for favors. 'Give me a nice, comfortable allowance', he says, in so many words, 'ainsi faisoient anciennement les Roys & Princes curieux de leur reputation. . . . Aussi personnages de supresme excellence ne pourroyent estre trop soigneux de la bonne renommée, compaigne inseparable de la vertu.' He tries to strengthen his case by underlining the 'interest public à escrire une histoire en perfection'.

Eventually he becomes quite wearisome when he recommends conscientious historians in these terms: 'Que pourroient ilz faire plus utile ou plus beau, que rememorer les antiquitez des pays & des villes, transmigration des nations, commencemens, progrés & acroissement des religions', which is just the beginning of another broad *étalage*. This goes on for four pages, with a few diverting maneuvers thrown in. After this overwhelming demonstration of his prowess, which requires all the indulgence suggested by Renaissance principles, Le Roy finishes with an unexpected touch of modesty—but only as far as the parenthesis: 'Protestant que ce que i'ay envie defaire n'est pour esperance d'aucun loyer (encore que mes longs travails à la suite de la Cour, & estudes continuels, paraventure le meritent) qu'à moy sera possible, à la vocation à laquelle Dieu m'a voulu appeler' (15v). And, not to forget, an endowed chair as historiographer would also 'avancer l'utilité publique, instruire le temps present & futur'.

One concludes this pamphlet with the regret that Le Roy had to beg for a living and that he did not have the funds to devote himself to what was indeed his high vocation. At the same time it is clear that the literary expression of this fight for survival is of no more than marginal interest. However, if we want to gain understanding for an embittered personality, then there is ample material for reflection in these pamphlets. As we turn to the major works of Le Roy, we find the tone in the prefatory matter to be much more reserved, and this could also be shown through a detailed comparison of the original pamphlet-letters with their reappearance in graver surroundings. This does not alter the impression one gets, that Le Roy tried to prevail upon persons of high standing with little regard for their age or disposition.

Becker, at the end of the chapter which deals with three Latin pamphlets by Regius, passes a judgment that could be applied also to the French tracts, but only if we paid no particular attention to the *ideas* they contain: 'Courtisan médiocre, érudit brillant et surtout latiniste de premier ordre, tel nous apparaît Regius dans ces trois ouvrages, où tout autre qu'un Cicéronien ne s'arrêtera guère.' Of these, only the *Vita Budaei* could be called a moderate success, and Becker concludes: 'Un bon écrit sur trois, quand il s'agit d'écrits de circonstance, c'est une belle proportion' (p. 72). Perhaps a similar *succès d'estime* should be accorded to the *Considération*, if we think of purely literary merits. However, the emphasis here has not been on *how* Le Roy expressed himself, but on *what* he had to say. Certainly this is an indulgence which every historian

deserves, at least while he is still struggling for the final formulation of his thoughts. And, if we are willing to make this concession, then the French pamphlets of Le Roy, and the letters which accompanied one of them, emerge as important documents, not only for the development of their author but also, and especially, as an early landmark in two domains: the evolution of the idea of progress and the development of the cyclic concept of history.

University of Pennsylvania BODO L. O. RICHTER

The First Italianate Englishmen

THOUGH the Italianate Englishman is a well-known figure in the Elizabethan literary scene, our picture of him is drawn generally from plays and satires after 1590, a generation after Roger Ascham introduced the epithet. Moreover, each portraitist in turn strove to outdo the other in vehemence, as we judge from the broadening range of Greene, Lodge, Marston, Jonson, for example, who had themselves not traveled to Italy and might not therefore be able to judge whether their victim, the 'affectate traveller', had learned his vice or folly in Italy or France or Spain, or only at home. Presumably the Elizabethans did not care how far out of bounds the term went in describing extremes of cruelty or baseness. Neither, I judge, do the many excellent scholarly studies in our time[1] of the Italianate fashion, which often do not distinguish too clearly decade from decade, trait from trait, or literature from fact. Were these indeed Italianate Englishmen who were disguised in literature (we are told) as Jaques, Bruto, Macilente? Can we believe that the wicked Italian courts in the plays of Marston, Fletcher, Webster, and others were meant to mirror a wicked Italianate court in England?

If the term *Italianate* has stretched so far, we might do well to return to the beginning to discover its original meaning. It should of course have been a term of praise in an era when Italy was looked on as 'the

[1] A good summary statement of anti-Italian and anti-Italianate feeling in the literature was made by Lewis Einstein in ch. iv of *The Italian Renaissance in England* (1902). An elaborate study appears in the unpublished dissertation of Z. S. Fink, *Anti-Foreign Sentiment in Tudor and Early Stuart Literature*, chs. v and vii (Northwestern University, 1931); again in the unpublished dissertation of Miss Jeannette Fellheimer, *The Englishman's Conception of the Italian in the Age of Shakespeare* (London University, 1935)—and I am grateful to the author for the loan of a copy; and recently in the dissertation of Robert S. Brustein, *Italianate Court Satire and the Plays of John Marston* (Columbia University, 1957). The most succinct statement of the Italianate in literary satire is I think in the article by Professor Fink, 'Jaques and the Malcontent Traveler', *Philological Quarterly* XIV (1935), 237–252.

nacion which semeth to flourisshe in ciuilitee moste of all other at this daie', as William Thomas wrote in 1549 in his *Historie of Italie*,[2] the first and most comprehensive English account of Italian manners and history. Italy as the home of manners and wealth, as a principal home of learning, as a laboratory for the study of government offered a special attraction to an England which had cut itself off from Italy as the home of its religion. Increasing familiarity with the literature of Italy was one result of this attraction. Another was familiarity with the language, which paradoxically grew with the Reformation. A Venetian envoy reported that Queen Mary, who spoke French, Latin, and Spanish, understood Italian but answered Italian speakers with Latin; while Princess Elizabeth made a point of speaking fluent Italian with all persons from that country.[3] When in 1574 four Venetian noblemen were invited to dinner by the Privy Council, their eight hosts, headed by Lord Burghley, carried on the conversation throughout in Italian—most of the eight speaking it and all understanding it, though only three of them had been in Italy; and of course the queen had spoken Italian to them when she gave them audience.[4]

English relations with Italy and Italians were moreover generally excellent. Venice was and remained a friend of long standing, and Italian bankers and importers were useful to the economy. Italian Protestants had been welcomed in England when Archbishop Cranmer brought in, before 1550, Vermigli, Ochino, Tremellio, along with German theologians, to set up Anglican doctrine, and though they departed in Queen Mary's time, the Italian Protestant church in London was continued under Elizabeth. Cardinal Pole's retinue, it is true, included many Italians, but they all went home after his death. Italians as such were not for a long time identified with Catholic dangers to England. In the war with France in the 1540s, for example, though it was constantly reported that the pope was sending Italian troops to the aid of France, England at the same time hired Italian soldiers from Venice and elsewhere for the campaign in Flanders, and these Italians continued in Elizabeth's time to offer military and other service to England. In the 1560s the wars of Catholic inspiration with Scotland and France seemed to owe little to Rome, and it was not until the excommunication of the queen in 1570, and the later discovery of the part taken by the Floren-

[2] Sig. A2.
[3] *Calendar State Papers Venice*, VI, 1055, 1059.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII, no. 617.

tine Ridolfi in the Norfolk conspiracy, that *Italian* came to signify 'dangerous'. Even then, it might be argued, it was the pope who, urged by English Catholic exiles, joined Spain as the Catholic enemy, rather than Italians as such.

Altogether, when things Italian were inordinately admired in England, the word *Italianate* should have been a term of praise—but it never was. At the opposite pole from Thomas' praise of Italy in 1549 is the violent censure by Thomas Nashe in 1592, writing of Italy as 'the Academie of man-slaughter, the sporting place of murther, the Apothecary-shop of poyson for all Nations'.[5] (It should be noted that Nashe had not been to Italy, while Thomas had lived there for several years.) The paradox is that the new picture of Italy as a pattern of sin had been built up alongside the older picture of Italy as a model of manners without displacing it; that the two pictures subsisted independently—equal and opposite—is perhaps proved by the continued flocking to Italy of undeterred English youth, in 1594 as in 1549.[6]

If the word and idea *Italian* came to be thus ambivalent, the uses of the word *Italianate* might give a clue.

I

The word regularly appeared in what was called a proverb, 'Inglese italianato è diabolo incarnato', which had its first literary use in the writing of Roger Ascham in 1564. The saying can be discovered earlier, however, in casual use. In the French war of 1545–1546 the Italian mercenaries I have mentioned were cause of some concern, as allies of another tongue usually are. Sir William Paget, one of the principal secretaries, kept reporting from Calais some of their misdeeds. He hoped that some of them might be discharged, as also indeed the English officers who follow the Italian example of 'pollyng and nyppyng' of the poor soldiers' wages; as an instance, Captain Pellam, after receipt of his company payroll of £200, had told his men that he had been robbed, and must leave them unpaid and £100 in debt for food; he had been ar-

[5] *Pierce Penilesse*, in *Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, I, 186.

[6] Thomas Hoby noted 14 young Englishmen like himself at Venice and Padua in 1548–1549 (*Camden Miscellany* X, 8), and 13 others at Siena and Rome in the next year (*ibid.*, 19, 24); in 1554–1555, 16 of student age were in Padua, plus elder refugees like Sir John Cheke (*ibid.*, 116–117). In 1594, 10 English students matriculated in the English Law Nation at Padua, the number including Fynes Moryson (Archivio Antico dell'Università, MS. 30, fols. 103^{v}–104^{r}).

rested. For Paget he illustrated the Italian proverb that 'vng Inglese Italianato e vng diavolo incarnato'.[7]

I cannot tell where Paget had heard this saying. Most likely it had been contributed by one of the Italian captains, many of whom were men of substance at home and might not have 'nipped' their payrolls. On the other hand, Paget was a university man and a well-traveled diplomat to both the French and the imperial courts, where Italian ambassadors were on good terms with the English, and he may have heard the saying from one of them, as I believe Ascham did later. For Paget was not merely a chance hearer of an Italian phrase. That he was a man of broad cultural pretensions may be seen not only in the sophisticated language of his dispatches generally, but also, in a later instance, in his casual use of another Italian saying. He was referring to merely domestic affairs when many years later, in 1559, he quoted in a letter 'the Italian Proverb, Chi offende non mai perdona'.[8]

In this its seemingly first appearance, the evil trait named *Italianate* is avarice and fraud. I have not found this meaning again in English use, and I infer that, for Paget at least, the saying meant only that whatever wickedness Italians might indulge in, Italianate Englishmen could outdo them at it. The kind of wickedness was not yet, it would seem, specific, as it was to become with and after Ascham. Whether it ever had been, where the saying had originated, I do not know: I can only wonder that so few Englishmen as had been to Italy should have become the subject of an Italian saying.

The word *Italianate* first appears in print, I believe, in the second (1560)[9] edition of Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* (fol. 82v). It refers to language, however, not to persons, forming part of Wilson's tirade against foreign idiom in English; in the first edition (1553) he denounced 'Angleso Italiano', changing in the second edition, after he had gone to Italy, to 'Englishe Italianated'. The objection is not moral but rhetorical, and objection is made equally to 'Fre*n*che English' and to 'strange ynkehorne termes'.

The first literary application of the term to persons was made by Roger Ascham in *The Scholemaster*. Writing its first draft at the end of 1563 and the beginning of 1564, he set the third problem in the educa-

[7] *Letters and Papers of Henry the Eighth*, xx, part ii, no. 997: Paget to the Council, 17 December 1546.

[8] *A Collection of* [Burghley] *State Papers*, ed. Samuel Haynes, I (1740), 210.

[9] I here correct the date of 1553 given in *N.E.D.*

tion of noble youth as 'the fansie that some haue to go beyond seae [sic], and namelye to leade a long lyffe in ytalie',[10] or as he rephrased it later, 'the common goinge of Englishe men into Italie'.[11] Ascham declared that such travel of youth without the care of a tutor was 'meruelous dangerous'; even the Italians recognized the harmful result of an Italian education, and had invented a proverb, 'Inglese italionato, e vn diabolo incarnato'.[12] This sentence meant to the Italians, Ascham interpreted, that 'you remaine men in shape and facion, but becum deuils in life and condition'.[13] Ascham's own interpretation was that the Englishman Italianate first learned to say in his heart, like the fool, there is no God.

Than thei, delyueryd from the fear of god, shakyng of [f] the motyons of grace, & lett louse to all synne, first, lustlye contemne God, next spitefullye mock his worde: Than they haue in mor Reverence, the Tryumphes of petrach than the Genesie of Moyses: Then thei count as fables the holye Misteries of the bible, then they mak Christ & his gospell, serue onlye Civill Pollicie: Then neyther Relygion cometh amyss vnto them, In tyme they be promoters of both openlye, Mockers of both privilie.[14]

From this contempt for religion and this blasphemy comes the freedom to sin which is characteristic of 'many places of Italy'. The Italianate Englishman, having lost his faith, loses his virtue. Irreligion and immorality are the product of Italian education, though the former is much more important. For it leads to sedition.

For, beinge in Italye freelye of no Relygyon, & in England, of Necessitie, most [must] countenance the profession of the one or thother, when in verye deede, thei laughe to scorne bothe, yet streight way they band them selves with the Papistes. For papist[rie] & Impietie be sister germaynes, & both haunt togeder comonlye. & doo dwell togeder in ther opynyons, at [as] it were in ther comon Innes, Contempt of goddes word: Securitie in synne: & a bloody desyr to haue all out of the way yt hynder ther purpose.[15]

In the expanded version of *The Scholemaster*, written before Ascham's death late in 1568, the last words read 'to haue all taken away, by sword

[10] Ms. Royal 18.B.xxiv, fol. 72: somewhat changed in *The Schoolmaster* (Arber ed.), p. 71. I am indebted to the Washington University Library for the loan of a photostat of the manuscript, and to the university for the original procurement of the photostat.

[11] Arber ed., p. 20.

[12] So written in the first draft, MS. cit., fol. 74^{v}.

[13] Arber ed., p. 78.

[14] Ms. cit., fol. 74^{v}; in the ed., pp. 81–82.

[15] Ms., fol. 76^{r}–76^{v}.

and burning, that be not of their faction'.[16] It is possible to see in this change a softening of the first version, which suggests conspiracy rather than mere discontent, and it is possible that Ascham (or his editor) thought it not too safe for a civil servant to speak of the conspiracies of his betters, which became a matter for public discussion only after the open revolt of the northern earls in 1569, a year after Ascham's death. Probably for the same reason Ascham shifted his allusion from the present to the safer past in concluding in the first version his parallel of irreligion with 'papistrie':

And they yt doo reade Pigius [the anti-Protestant] & Machiavell, wth indifferent iudgment the two Patriarches of thies two plages, do kno[w] full well, yt I say trewe. . . But wher a Monster is made of craft, & Crueltie, yt is to say, wher the discoursing head of a Machiavell, doth meet with the bloody hart of a N. yt, what mischef so ever craft can invent, Crueltie will lustelie execute it, what horrible danger may ther fall, wisdom shold, not only forsee it, & know it, but auth[oritie] also shuld see to it & remedye it.[17]

The *N.* alludes to a persecutor earlier hinted at, perhaps the Catholic Bishop Bonner of London of Queen Mary's time.

Open irreligion and headstrong civic factiousness thus make the climax of the indictment. The 'inchantements of *Circes*' must of course follow, and Ascham complains of the contempt for marriage and the open lechery of the Italianate. The final count in the indictment in the first version is a kind of unsocial niggardliness, which we must think an anticlimax.

Thei be also of a mervelouse syngularitie in all theyr matters: singular in knoledge, & ignorant of nothinge: sygular [sic] in wisdom, & in ther owne opynyon, the best Councelour the Prynce hath, not comparable wth theyme: syngular, in taulk, in gesture, in look, in countenance: syngular in goyng, perchance wthout a man, yet somtymes wth a boye, & he simple enoughe in apparayll. For diet, seldom found at home, but cauld, befor thei be sent for, to some greatter person: yet somtym, at theyr own table (as I her saye) very singular to, yt is single wthout companye, and simple wthout good meat. For this is a very proper praise & custome, of all soch Italians, (although they be descendyd from liberall fathers and worthie families) to mislike the consumynge of moch meat at home, and yet in no wise to be absent from eny good banket abroad. Good house keepinge, & a fair companye off serving men, is counted a vayn coast to ther purses, & a great cumber to ther lust, to liue, as they lyk best themselves. I might saye mor, & yet not over moche, of the strange singularitie: wch will needes

[16] P. 83.
[17] Ms., fol. 76v.

dispossesse, the honest symplicitie in youthe, & cumlie good maners in older folke: wch was wont to be treulye termed, the Curtesie of Englande both in old & yonge.[18]

Unsocial niggardliness is a far cry from the usual later picture of the Italianate as a spectacular sophisticate. Here is no 'affectate' traveler, unless uncouth simplicity be affected. The trait was dropped in Ascham's later version, and does not appear again elsewhere. But it is interesting that a Cambridge don should find that the English youth who were now flocking to Italy came back with poorer manners, as they came back without religion or loyalty.

At this point I must take issue in one respect with Professor Fink. I do not find in either version of *The Scholemaster* any warrant for his statement[19] that 'Ascham meant among other things that the traveler cultivated Italian quickness to resent an affront, and implacability in seeking revenge . . . He doubtless meant, too, though he does not specifically say so, that the traveler came back schooled in Italian and Spanish fencing'—that is, in the new rapier-and-dagger technique of offense. I cannot find this revengefulness in either the first draft or the printed version. Ascham had probably read in Thomas' *Italie* that Italian gentlemen were 'so tendre ouer their owne good name . . . that who so euer speaketh euyll of one of theim, shall dye for it'.[20] But his Italianate was a talker, not a doer, prone in his disrespect for religion and civic policy to malice and backbiting as he was also given to licentious or niggardly living; but I cannot find Ascham ever thinking of him as criminal in act. Even when egged on to rebelliousness by sympathy with Catholic malcontents, he stopped with 'a bloody desyr'. Ascham does not yet accuse him of private quarrelsomeness, that is of unruly action either private or public.

His full summary statement, the *locus classicus* of the idea, was in his addition in the printed version:

If some yet do not well vnderstand, what is an English man Italianated, I will plainlie tell him. He, that by liuing, and traueling in *Italie*, bringeth home into England out of *Italie*, the Religion, the learning, the policie, the experience, the maners of *Italie*. That is to say, for Religion, Papistrie or worse: for learnyng, lesse commonly than they caried out with them: for pollicie, a factious hart, a discoursing head, a mynde to medle in all mens matters: for experience, plentie of new mischieues neuer knowne in Eng-

[18] Ms., fol. 77r–77v.
[19] *P.Q.* XIV (1935), 239–240.
[20] *Historie of Italie*, fol. 4.

land before: for maners, varietie of vanities, and chaunge of filthie lyuing. These be the inchantements of *Circes*, brought out of *Italie*, to marre mens maners in England . . .[21]

II

Why did these Italianates become a court problem in 1563? for I find no mention of them there before Ascham. If Englishmen had made themselves notorious in Italy, they would have been soldiers—that is the mercenaries who had followed Hawkwood and others in the fourteenth century, and who would surely have been forgotten—or students or possibly pilgrims. In the absence of any Italian record, except for one notice which will be mentioned, we suppose that the remark about Italianates arose as a kind of byword when sophisticated English travelers, preferably diplomats like Paget and Ascham, came in contact with sophisticated Italians, preferably diplomats also. The saying was not otherwise known or used in England before Ascham, as far as I know. It was known to a select few, and was caviare to the general. Nor was the larger concept of Italianate as wicked known at all. In all the violence of Reformation and counter-Reformation in England, I have not found any thought of the pope and the church as typically Italian, or of his English adherents or agents, from Cardinal Pole down, as Italianate. When Pole was sent in 1537 from Rome to Flanders to encourage the Catholic uprising in England known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, he was denounced by Cromwell as 'detestable traitor', as guilty of 'ingratitude, unnaturalness, conspiracy against [the king's] honor', of 'malice, blindness, and pervicacy', as 'enemy of God, an enemy of all honesty, an enemy of right religion, a defender of iniquity, a merchant and occupier of all deceits'.[22] In sum, he was a traitor. Here was an excellent chance to link Pole's treason with his Italian education, his nine years in Padua and Venice; Cromwell had himself knocked about Italy as a young man and as a soldier or a merchant's clerk if the legend be true, where he would have seen the seamy side of life; but he lays no blame on Italy for Pole's treason. The idea that Pole was Italianate did not apparently occur to him, and I believe the reason to be that the concept of Italianate had not yet been invented. Nor does it appear in the act of attainder of 1539 which accused Pole and his followers of having 'adhered to the bishop of Rome, the King's enemy, and stirred seditions in the realm'.[23]

[21] Arber ed., p. 78.

[22] Cromwell to Throckmorton, cited by J. A. Froude, *History of England*, III, 228–229.

[23] Summarized in *Letters and Papers*, XIV, part i, no. 867.

Throughout the religious controversies of the 1540s and 1550s, furthermore, I have no impression of Italy as such being drawn into the case. The opprobrious word *papist* carried the weight of disapproval, and *Roman* or *Romish* was also used in a restricted sense, but I cannot discover that Turner or Bale or Hooper or Foxe blamed Italy or Italian influence in their denunciation of papal thought or action. Indeed I know of nothing in England as specific as Luther's disgust with Rome the city and court. It is true that things Italian were not above reproach. William Thomas' praise in his *Historie of Italie* was naturally countered by some dispraise, especially of the Venice in which he lived. For Thomas, Italy was 'the principall place of recourse of all nacions' for trade (fol. 2) and for resort of gentlemen (fol. 3). Italian gentlemen surpassed all others in majesty (fol. 3^{v}): 'verye modest in their apparel, fine in trymmynge of their houses, and excedynge nete at their table. But aboue all other they are sobre of speache, ennemies of yll reporte, and so tendre ouer their owne good name . . . that who so euer speaketh euyll of one of theim, shall dye for it' (fol. 4). 'Finally in one thing I can singularly commend them, that they woull not lightlye meddle with other mennes mattiers' (fol. 4^{v}). On the other hand, 'yf I were disposed to speake of vice, I might happen to find a number as ill as in anye other men' (fol. 4^{v}), that is, they are as extreme in vice as in virtue. The gentlewomen are lavishly dressed; the rulers of Italy are diligent in the administration of justice, and Italy is therefore 'more quiete' than any other country (fol. 7^{v}).

In all this praise Thomas sprinkled some dispraise in describing Venice. He presents the opinion held by foreigners of the Venetian nobleman: he 'is proude, disdeinfull, couetouse, a greate nygarde, a more leachour, spare of liuyng, tyranne to his tenant, finally neuer satisfied with hourdyng vp of money' (fol. 83^{v}). These qualities did not move Ascham, but what follows did. First, the Venetian nobles permit only the eldest son to marry, while the others support courtesans. Then the passages on liberty (fol. 85) might have given Ascham particular pause.

Al men, specially strangers, haue so much libertee there, that though they speake verie ill by the Venetians, so they attempte nothyng in effecte against theyr astate, no man shall controll theim for it. . . . Further, he that dwelleth in Venice, maie recken him selfe exempt from subiection. For no man there marketh an others dooynges, or that meddleth with an other mans liuying. If thou be a papist, there shalt thou want no kinde of supersticion to feede vpon. If thou be a gospeller, no man shall aske why thou comest not to churche. If thou be a Jewe, a Turke, or beleeuest in the diuell (so thou

spreade not thyne opinions abroade) thou arte free from all controllement. To lyue maried or vnmaried, no man shall aske the why . . .

This negligence which permits irreligion and immorality corresponds to Ascham's basic idea of Italian dissoluteness: to which, however, he added a reference to the Inquisition, set up to drive out 'Christ & hys Doctrine', which began its work after Thomas had left Venice. Thomas' basic idea of negligence had been perhaps impressed on Ascham by another traveler, his teacher and colleague Sir John Cheke. He was in Padua in 1554 in self-imposed exile with many other Protestants; after only ten days there, he wrote back an opinion of Italians which seems to derive from Thomas:

Courtesans in honour, haunting of evil houses noble; breaking of marriage a sport; murder, in a gentleman, magnanimity; robbery, finesse if it be clean conveyed,—for the spying is judged the fault and not the stealing; religion, to be best that best agreeth with Aristotle *de anima*; the common tenant, though not in kind of tenancy, marvellously kept bare, the gentleman, nevertheless, yet bare that keepth him so; in speech cautious, in deed scarce; more liking in asking than in giving.[24]

Italy, he thought, is the worse the farther one goes. Cheke in fact went no farther than Mantua, and left Italy in the next year. The two scholars Cheke and Ascham learned a suspiciously great deal about Italy in their respective ten and nine days there, and it is a relief to turn back from their foreshortened picture of immorality and irreligion and ignobility, which they doubtless darkened between them after leaving, to Thomas' broad and ample view.

It seems to me fully evident that Ascham like Cheke was most concerned with private morality in his view of Italians and Italianates, and his donnishness offers an explanation. What Italianates did he in fact have in mind, particularly those 'somtyme my deare frendes', as he calls them? I have no answer to this question, finding no hint either in Ascham's text or in his letters, and of course not expecting him to discuss too openly the scandalous behavior of upper-class youth. It is too early for the turbulent Arthur Hall or the foppish Earl of Oxford, who were to be marked Italianates. The most obvious court youth should have been Thomas Cecil, who had created scandal in his study-year in France, and whose tutor foresaw no added 'Inticements to pleasure & wan-

[24] *Calendar State Papers Foreign 1553–58*, no. 240; abstract of a letter from Sir John Cheke to Sir William Petre.

tonnes' beyond the Alps;[25] but he did not in fact go to Italy, and cannot be cited here.

It should be possible to find some of Ascham's targets, since we suddenly have a number of names of English youth who had been to Italy. I have mentioned Thomas Hoby's record of some thirty such persons whom he met there in 1548, 1549, and 1550. I may add an equal list of students and of older Protestant refugees who were in Padua in 1554 and later.[26] Thereafter the resort of students to Padua is regular, and if we had adequate biographical records of their private lives, we might discover the persons meant by Ascham.

Whether we can or not, and it is quite possible that they will be identified, one conclusion emerges. It is no accident that we have suddenly so many names of Englishmen in Italy; it is rather a sign of a new flocking to that country, the first since perhaps a dozen youth gathered about Reginald Pole in Padua in the 1520s and 1530s.[27] The list of annual officers of the English Law Nation shows no English names between Richard Moryson in 1534 and 'Francisco Freitto anglus' in 1546, the officers being other nationals; beginning in 1549 with John Marbury, the officers are almost continuously English, and many other English names appear in most years thereafter.[28] The novelty of this inrush is further attested by the statement in the statutes of the Law University in 1551 that there had been no English students 'for several years now'.[29]

Ascham was then reporting a new phenomenon—a new habit of travel to Italy and its consequences in the Italianization of the travelers. I have not found such a report, or such a protest, before, and I infer that the English who now went to Padua were no longer serious students but were instead upper-class youth in search of pleasure. They registered at the university, to be sure, but they took no degrees—for which indeed they would be required to profess the Catholic faith: so they returned with 'learnynge, lesse commonly than they caried out with them'. This might in itself be no new phenomenon, since there are al-

[25] The tutor Windebank to Sir William Cecil from Frankfurt, November 1562: in *State Papers Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. 25, no. 58, fol. 109.

[26] Christina Garrett, *The Marian Exiles* (1938), 'Census of Exiles', pp. 67 ff.

[27] See my *English Traveler to Italy*, I (1954), 475–490.

[28] I. A. Andrich, *De Natione Anglica et Scota Juristarum Universitatis Patavinae* (Padua, 1892), pp. 21–40, 131–134.

[29] *Statuta . . . Universitatis Iuristarum . . .* (Padua, 1551), fols. 3^{v}–4^{r}, cited by Pearl Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 128.

ways students who are not serious. What is new, apart from the new inrush of English youth, is the one significant change in the conditions of the English in Italy, that is the change in English religion. In the past, an Englishman might be temporarily lost to religion and morality by Italian indifference, but he would be restored on his return to an unchanged Catholic England; now he would be lost for good to 'Papistrie or worse', and his irreligion and immorality might move on to disaffection. This I take to be Ascham's meaning. It supposes that as Protestant he would suspect of crypto-Catholicism the student-traveler then, just as in our time he would suspect of crypto-Communism the student who had gone to Spain to fight for the republic.

Once we note the religious difference, we may think of identifying Ascham's Italianates among disaffected Catholics, for we have much more historical evidence for public behavior than for private morality. For English travelers suspected of being papists had long since attracted government attention. In 1551 the English agent in Venice, Peter Vannes, was required by the Privy Council to keep track of 'light wanderers', particularly, it would seem, those who might join Cardinal Pole in Rome.[30] It was in the next year that Ascham visited Venice, where he must have seen Vannes and certainly learned of these suspects. Now in 1563 some of them would be in exile in Flanders or in Spain, recalcitrant Catholics or seditious conspirators. Two such persons are strong possibilities. One was Sir Richard Shelley, who had gone to Venice in Pole's time there, and had returned to do the state some service; now he was a Spanish pensioner, and an active counselor of the pope in English matters. Ascham might well have known him at court. The second was Francis Yaxley, originally a protégé of William Cecil, who had lived in the envoy's house in Venice in 1552, and whom Ascham might have seen there or on Yaxley's homeward journey when he called on Ascham's chief, the ambassador to the emperor. Now he was involved in Catholic plotting in Spain and Scotland. Both these persons might be taken as Italianates, but only conjecturally. We cannot be sure in any case that Ascham had political behavior in mind at all, or whether he spoke rather, as an educator, about morals. We do not know, in sum, who his Italianates were; but, if my reading of his specifications is correct, we can believe that he thought of them as sinful, or prone to sin, because of the relaxation in Italy of the social restraints to

[30] *Calendar State Papers Foreign 1547–53*, no. 313 (5 April 1551), followed up in nos. 354, 409.

which they had been subject at home. They were not, if I am right, trained in villainy, though they might be ripe for it. They were weak rather than wicked, and they certainly were not devils.

III

The Italian saying was too good to lose, however, and it recurs, in what one might in fantasy call a kind of echo of Ascham, in 1567, before the second draft of *The Scholemaster* recopied the words. On 1 January 1567, Edward Moorecrofte wrote from Paris to Sir William Cecil an eight-page essay on the fruit of his travel, actually a description of the comparative manners of Italians and Germans, to the credit of the latter.[31] The essay was a summary of the observations of ten months in Italy, apparently by a student at the universities of Pavia and Padua, with contrasting observations of the Germans gathered on the return journey. The essay, though brief, is vivid, and forms a cogent answer to William Thomas' praise of Italy. For the traveler wrote in continuous resentment of the manners of the country. The police measures of the Italian states were irksome, especially in the 'free cities' or republics, jealous of their liberty. Moorecrofte protested the strict registration at the city gate, the deposit of weapons (or the tying of swords and daggers in their sheaths), the customs duties often stretched to confiscation; the German cities were not so strict. Nor were the citizens of Germany nearly as vicious as this traveler found Italians to be: blasphemous and obscene in speech, given to whoring, making great show of honor but devoid of honesty, cruel, endlessly envious, and altogether ruthless. Moorecrofte has much more to say to vent his grudges, and he has also some accurate, if haphazard, observations of Italian poverty in food and wine, and some natural comments on the inferiority of Italian universities, frequented though they are by gentlemen. His theme remains the condemnation of a country of extremes—in climate, in commodities, and in vice.

If it be said, Moorecrofte ends, that he has not spent enough time in Italy to be accurate, he replies that time would only accustom one to evil, and that

> none shall lyke of Italye unlesse he be Italyzate, & howe he is then to be lyked of, ye generall proverbe proveth, Anglus Italizatus demon Incarnatus, & so sayeth ye frencheman of his contreymen, & lykewyse the german. (fol. 4^{v})

He does not explain or specify further, returning to his topic that 'Itali

[31] State Papers 70/88, fols. 1^{r}–5^{r}: summarized in *Calendar State Papers Foreign 1566–68*, no. 879.

be diaboli in paradiso'. It is interesting that the proverb has now become multi-national, referring to others than Englishmen, and one wonders if Moorecrofte heard it in Italy or perhaps rather in the embassy at Paris or elsewhere. At least we may gather from his context that the Italianate was considered immoral, but not yet specifically villainous. He names no political or religious dangers, as it happens, from or in Italy, and he would therefore not have been molested by the Inquisition (even as late as 1566) or been made aware of the plotting of Catholic exiles. Indeed he barely mentions religion, perhaps because he was writing from a Catholic country. The Italianate in his proverb seems to have been purely conventional, much like Paget's, and without the complexities of Ascham's.

It was in fact religion and religious conspiracy which gave a second meaning to *Italianate*, making it wicked as well as vicious. It is difficult for us to realize that Italy as a land of sinister and ruthless behavior is a creation of the Elizabethan age, and that there was a time when Italians were considered to be like other people, not specialists in subtle forms of murder. I have found but one traveler's observation of Italian subtlety, and it is clearly suspect. Dr. Andrew Boorde, passing through Italy about 1540 on the way to the Holy Land, noted a Roman habit of poisoning a man's saddle or stirrup, the poison taking effect when the heat of the body activated it.[32] This observation (or gossip) is a far cry from the lavish poisoning habits of Italians in Elizabethan plays, just as Thomas' remark about Italian vengefulness is a far cry from the later lurid pictures of assassination. One might find all the scandalous inspiration in the Italian novella itself, and blame bloodthirstiness on literature rather than on life. But one may also blame the religious wars for fanning the flames.

I discover one apparent forerunner of the later wicked Italian and Italianate. In 1551 an unnamed English official in Venice advised a young Englishman to be on his guard in Rome. George Throckmorton had been received hospitably in Venice, and proceeded to Rome to visit his uncle Michael, an attendant for nearly twenty years of Cardinal Pole. Michael was apparently turning Protestant, and indeed did not return to England with Pole; but he had fooled the English government once before in pretending to agree to spy on Pole, and he needed watching. The nephew therefore received this advice:

[32] *Breviary of Health*, fol. cxvi^{v}, cited in F. J. Furnivall's ed. of Boorde's *Introduction to Knowledge*, p. 78. I owe this reference to Z. S. Fink, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

I perceive you are at Rome, a dangerous place especially for the Throckmortons, but God can teach you your duty to him, your king . . . Mistrust your own youth, and the wily Italian practices of the old man with whom you have to do. He will be plausible at first, but be not abused, and get all intelligence you can, concerning our master's safety, on whom depends your surety and the wealth of all England . . . Especially learn whether he is a true convert in religion, for his old papistry would prevent his disclosing what might preserve the king from evil. It occasioned him and his master [Pole] to banish themselves from England, and has moved them to sundry conspiracies: yet hear what you can, for God sometimes serves himself with the devil . . .[33]

Italian practices here must mean deceit and conspiracy, and the word anticipates the sudden new meaning of *Italianate* in 1572.

The Catholic nobles of the north of England revolted in late 1569; the Duke of Norfolk was released in 1570 from arrest on suspicion, but was rearrested in 1571, and tried and executed in 1572. Only in the course of 1571 was the conspiracy unraveled in which English nobles and Spain and the pope had planned to unseat Elizabeth, and the Italian part in the conspiracy, aside from papal excommunication of the queen at the request of English Catholics in exile, was minor. Yet of a sudden, *Italianate* became the particular term of opprobrium for traitors. Norfolk's trial was held on 16 January 1572. At once, as if by magic, the word was everywhere. On the 27th, Lord Burghley was warned by a friend of the arrival from Rome of one Dr. Gifford, and was advised not to accept physic from one who was 'Italionated'.[34] On the 29th, Burghley was urged by Archbishop Grindal to look to his own safety threatened by 'obdurate papists and Italionate atheists'.[35] And ironically the other side defended itself with the same word. One of the devices of the Scottish Bishop of Ross, a main agent of conspiracy, had been, in the course of the plotting, to stir up Norfolk by accounts of successful palace rebellions, such as was intended, including that of an Italian 'callit Castructio, who attempted such lyk a disparat Interpryse, and broght it to pas', as well as that which had succeeded in Scotland. When the duke was told of these successes, he was reported to have said that 'he did nawayse lyke of such Italyon Devyces'.[36] Later, after the trial, the duke vehemently declared in a protest to the queen that both the bishop and his own secretary, William Barker, who had been forced to give the damning evidence against him, were liars:

[33] *Calendar State Papers Domestic, Addenda 1547–1565*, vol. III, no. 84.
[34] *Calendar State Papers Domestic 1547–1580*, vol. 85, no. 27.
[35] *Ibid.*, vol. 85, no. 28: 29 January 1572.
[36] *A Collection of* [Burghley] *State Papers*, ed. W. Murdin, II (1759), 43–44.

the one beyng a schamlesse Scote, and the other ane Italianfyd Inglyschemane, ther Facys wyll be to brasen to yealde to enye Truthe that I schall charge them with . . .[37]

The excuse for the epithet was that the secretary Barker, twenty years earlier, had lived in Italy as a student for a period of four years;[38] but he had served the duke continuously for the intervening twenty years, and had never been so accused before. Clearly the epithet had suddenly become a new weapon.

It became so at once, in its new and extended meaning of 'treacherous', in literary as well as in casual official usage. In the same year 1572, Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, published his history of the seventy archbishops his predecessors under the title *De antiquitate Britannicae ecclesiae*. The last biography dealt with Reginald Pole, and it is interesting now to see the newly formed legend of that prelate as Italianate, not now in the Ascham sense but in what we may now call the conspiratory sense. We remember that in 1539 the word *Italianate* was not even dreamed of for Pole.

The first stage of Pole's corruption, we are told by Parker, followed his elevation to cardinal in 1536, which was aimed to induce English nobility and foreign rulers to join in the papal war against Henry VIII. On his creation for this treacherous purpose, Pole was separated from the other new cardinals, and taken into the papal palace. I translate the account of the result.[39]

When he had remained there some months in safety [from English threats] in the very

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 170, the duke's letter dated 23 January 1571[–2].

[38] See my article on William Barker in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* LI (1957), 126–140.

[39] 1605 ed., pp. 346–351, for the Italian influence. I give the original of the translated passages (pp. 346, 351): 'Ibi tutus cum aliquot mensibus in ipsius Papae sinu gremioq*ue* consedisset, prodiit infatuatus & tanq*uam* Circaeo exhausto poculo ex Anglo in Italu*m*, ex Christiano in pontificium conuersus. Omitto hic quid ab ipsis Italis de nostratibus ad eos mutatis dici solebat, quantum & quam monstrosam Metamorphosim, & non modò contra humana*m* specie*m* ac naturam sed contra diuinam eam esse fingunt. Et quamuis Poli culpa omnem iam flagitet non modò acerbitate*m*, sed atrocitatem sermonis, tamen ne grauius aliquid in eum dicamus quàm id quòd ab ipsis pontificiis Italisq*ue* obiectum ei saepe fuit, latini sub suae simplicitatis specie illud à sapiente alienissimu*m* sanè vitium quòd à moru*m* facilitate Graeci rectè ἐυηθειαν appellant . . . At illa (credò) simplicitas primò vt in Anglo recta ingenuaq*ue* fuit, sed cum diuturna Romanae gentis consuetudine versutias eas calluisset, naturalis probitatis externam atque adumbratam retinuit speciem, dissimulationis verò atque fraudis vitium consuetudine contractum imo pectore fotum occultauit. . . . redit in patriam Polus, ex qua non vlla vi sed sua perfidia tamdiu abfuisset, reditq*ue* natura peregrina atq*ue* fera indutus, & Ecclesiae Anglicanae carnifex, ac flagellum, cuius iam Patronus atq*ue* tutor esse debuit atq*ue* potuit.'

lap and bosom of the pope himself, he emerged infatuated and changed, as if he had drunk the cup of Circe, from an Englishman to an Italian, from a Christian to a papist. I omit here [writes Parker] the word which the Italians use to describe our Englishmen who are changed into their likeness, which they consider a great and monstrous metamorphosis contrary to both human and divine nature.

In the margin appears our proverb, *Anglus italianatus, Diabolus incarnatus*. Parker continues:

And although Pole's guilt requires not merely bitter but even violent condemnation, yet we ought not to say anything worse of him than was often charged against him by the papists and Italians themselves, namely that vice of foolish simplicity which in Greek is called guilelessness (εὐήθειαν) . . . That simplicity which I think had been in the Englishman originally proper and ingenuous, now acquired in the daily contact with the people of Rome their craftiness, still retaining the exterior and feigned appearance of an honest nature, but concealing deep within the heart the cultivated vice of deceit and fraud.

As a result of this training, we are to understand, Pole became the traitor which Cromwell had long since called him, only now he is an Italianate and a devil; as such, he attempted to stir up war against his king, but in vain. His later career in Italy, in Parker's rather blurred reading of his history, hardly bears out the diabolical rôle, particularly since it is clear that he lost the papal election by hesitation and timidity, or hypocrisy, delaying until morning a midnight call to a sure election; the cardinals indeed called his action silly (*fatuus*), thus probably approving an earlier Italian opinion of him which had been based on his sympathy with reform, an opinion expressed in the Italian word for him, *Dapocagine* (no-account). (It would be interesting to know where Parker picked up this Italian word, which I have not found applied to Pole elsewhere.)

So the treacherous Italianate had become the ineffective one, but Pole's return in Queen Mary's time brought back his opportunity for ruthlessness. Parker wrote of him:

Pole returned to his country, from which he had been so long absent not from necessity but by his own treason; and he returned with an alien savagery to be the hangman and scourge of the English Church.

After the account of his behavior as archbishop, Parker sums up (p. 357):

Nor can it be justly supposed otherwise than that, if he had not been depraved by papist habits and turned to ambition, greed, and brutality, he would have excelled in

the undoubted gifts of a noble nature and in all the ornaments of his own learning and virtue.[40]

The religious motive had at last come out into the open as a cause of the antipathy to Italian and the Italianates: mere devotion to the pope is made a sign of corruption, implying as secondary result the poisoning of character.

It is only fair to note in passing that the pope who sent Pole back to England considered the English 'by nature fierce and unruly and given to change'[41] in matters of religion, and therefore already corrupt.

IV

We have arrived by stages at the concept of the treacherous (and papist) Italian and Italianate, as distinct from the Ascham concept of the irreligious and immoral Italianate. Yet I cannot find that Italianate thereafter carried consistently the sinister meaning. For one thing, the Duke of Norfolk, principal if half-hearted traitor, could by no means be called Italianate; for another, the horror of the St. Bartholomew massacre in the summer of 1572 must have eclipsed any antipathy to a remote Italy. Indeed I suggest tentatively that *Italianate* reverted generally to its meaning of corrupt in manners or morals, while *Italian* kept the meaning treacherous. For example, in the same 1572, George Gascoigne, writing a verse epistle to a traveler bound for Italy, warned him against English exiles there known for malice, wiles, and treason, warned him also against Italian arts of poisoning, but spoke of the dangers only of Italianate costume and manners as likely to affect the traveler returned home.[42] The famous diatribe of William Harrison in Holinshed (1577) against the results of an Italian education as 'meere atheisme, infidelitie,

[40] 'Neque sane aliter existimare conuenit, quin si pontificiis moribus deprauatus ad ambitionem, cupiditatem, & saeuitiam non deflexisset, naturae suae ac ingenuitatis propriae praeclaris dotibus doctrinaeque virtutisque singularis ornamentis omnibus praestitisset.'

[41] Cardinal Morone to Cardinal Pole for Julius III, 21 December 1553: 'quei popoli di natura feroci et instabili et assuefatti alle novità'; cited by Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes* (English ed.), XIII, 448.

[42] 'Beleeve mee *Batte*, our Countreymen of late
Have caughte such knackes abroade in Forayne lande,
That most men call them *Devils incarnate*,
So singular in theyr conceites they stande:
Nowe sir, if I shall see your maistershippe
Come home disguysde and cladde in queynt araye . . .'
—*Works* (Cambridge ed.), I, 346.

vicious conuersation, & ambitious and proud behauiour'[43] echoes Ascham, denoting rather immorality than treachery. Doubtless the meaning varied with the degree of abusiveness, though I suspect that a stronger word than *Italianate*—*Machiavellian*, for example—came to be needed to convey the idea of treachery. Officially, at least, *Italianate* was not used. At the end of 1580, when the Privy Council recalled from Italy all students there who were likely to become papists and undutiful subjects, this action of course following upon the 'invasion' of England by Jesuit missionary priests trained in Rome, the word *Italianate* was not used.[44] Nor did Burghley's defence of the execution of Catholic priests, his treatise *The Execution of Justice* of 1583, ever link the papist plots with Italy or Italianism. Unofficially, it is true, a sermon preached at Paul's Cross in 1581 referred to 'our Italienated papists':[45] so the more sinister meaning did persist. On the other hand, in a less serious matter, John Wolfe's publishing tricks in evading copyright were in 1582 labeled 'Machevillian' by his competitors,[46] whereas *Italianate* would have been perfectly suited to a man who flaunted his Italian sojourn and interests: something stronger was needed. And here we may leave our term *Italianate* while it still retains a determinate meaning.

If *Italianate* varied, even within the limits I have tried to set, in England, what can we say of it in Italy? was there an Italian proverb? We should not expect one, since the first noted use of *italianato*, which occurs in Vespasiano's *Lives* of the fifteenth century, describes admiringly a Hungarian humanist 'who was italianate and of keenest intellect'.[47] *Italianate*, we realize, would naturally be a term of approval in Italy. As for the *bon mot* which we suppose the saying to have been when used to Paget or Ascham, we might well consider it traveler's jargon, perhaps the sophisticated traveler's sneer at his compatriots. As Moorecrofte was first to note, the term was not limited, in its application, to the English. The German sample which is extant comes from a pedagogue and traveler's tutor Jerome Turler, who wrote down 'Thedesco Italia-

[43] 'Description of Britaine', in New Shakespeare Society ed., I, 129.

[44] Privy Council to John Whitgift (and to the other bishops), 16 December 1580, printed in John Strype, *Life of Whitgift* (1822 ed.), I, 183–185.

[45] *N.E.D.*, s.v. *Italianate*, citing Anthony Andreson.

[46] Harry R. Hoppe in 4 *Library* XIV (1933), 246, 264.

[47] The reference is given in Tommaseo and Bellini, *Dizionario della lingua Italiana*, II, i, 1714. The phrase in Vespasiano (1951 ed., p. 179, which does not appear in the Waters translation) is 'che era italianato ed era d'acutissimo ingegno'.

nato, Diabolo Incarnato'[48] in his book *De peregrinatione* of 1574. Actually his remark is not as severe an indictment as Ascham's, for Turler had observed the Italian effect on the German traveler to be the development of a naughty conscience, an empty purse, and a weak stomach. This does not sound very devilish. Nor does the French version, which implies mere manners rather even than morals:

> Yet am I constrained to blame the foolish estimation which the most part make of straunge fashions: principally of the Italian toyes, esteeming no man cunningly cousyned, who bieyng hatched in France, hath not been Italionated by some voyage over the mountaynes.[49]

If the three northern countries all saw themselves reflected in the mirror of Italy, we might expect Italy to know of it. Was there an Italian proverb? We do not find it where we most expect it, that is, among the 600 Italian proverbs which Charles Merbury collected in his *Proverbi Vulgari, Raccolti in Diversi Luoghi d'Italia* of 1581, published in London.[50] The saying is mentioned, to be sure, in the preface to John Florio's *Second Frutes* of 1591,[51] as a familiar one in England but not specifically as a saying of that Italy where Florio had presumably never been. When we turn to the collections published in Italy, we do not find our proverb among the forty-five which the Venetian Aloyse Cynthio de gli Fabritii used as the texts for his *Libro della Origine delli Volgari Proverbi* of 1526. We do at last find it in a *Raccolta de' proverbi toscani*, derived by Giuseppe Giusti in 1852[52] from the sixteenth-century manuscript collection of the Florentine Francesco Serdonati. When we consult the original manuscript, however, in the Laurentian Library, we discover that the collector has written after the proverb the significant words 'Proverbio degli Inglesi'.[53] The proverb, or byword, was evidently not Italian, or at least was not acknowledged as such.

Queens College, New York GEORGE B. PARKS

[48] The phrase appears on page 68 of the English version called *The Traueiler* (1575).

[49] Henry Wotton, translator, *A Courtly controuersie of Cupids Cautels* (1578), p. 273, from the French of Jacques Yver, *Le Printemps d'Yver* (1572).

[50] Ed. Charles Speroni (1946, University of California Publications in Modern Philology XXVIII, no. 3), pp. 81–111.

[51] Sig. *1v.

[52] Giusti's work was reëdited in 1956 by Gino Capponi as *Dizionario dei proverbi italiani*.

[53] Mediceae Palatina Codex LXII, vol. III, fol. 18v.

Rowland Whyte, Elizabethan Letter-Writer

EW LETTERS of any age have proved so useful as those of Rowland Whyte in the last years of the reign of Elizabeth and the first of that of James I. From their first appearance in 1746 in the *Letters and Memorials of State* edited by Arthur Collins,[1] no contemporary, unless it be John Chamberlain, has so often been quoted for succinct, apposite information regarding the personages and events of the era. Yet Whyte himself has been noticed only in brief footnotes: one by Collins, and a later and largely inaccurate one by Edmund Lodge.[2] The biographical details recoverable today are fragmentary, but some idea of Whyte's integrity emerges from them as well as from the letters themselves. Rowland Whyte, as Collins noted, was employed by Sir Robert Sidney 'to sollicit his Affairs at the Court, and to relate to him what passed there';[3] he also held some minor appointments, among them that of postmaster of the court from 1598 to 1614.

Any account of Rowland Whyte stems from the letters he wrote to his employer, Sir Robert Sidney, beginning in 1595, when Sir Robert, governor of the cautionary town of Flushing, was largely absent from England. During his intervals of leave in England, as during 1598, there are no letters. The last one to Sir Robert is of 1602, for, after the accession of James, Sir Robert, then Lord Lisle, was chamberlain to Queen Anne and usually in England. Eleven newsletters from Whyte to Gilbert, earl of Shrewsbury, from 1604 to 1607, were published by Lodge, but they yield few personal details. The last letter of Whyte is of 1626 and to the second Earl of Leicester, the son of Sir Robert Sidney. The letters Collins printed, together with a few he did not, have recently been calendared in the *Report of the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle & Dudley preserved at Penshurst Place*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (London, 1934, Histori-

[1] Arthur Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State* (London, 1746).
[2] Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History* (London, 1791), III, 242–243.
[3] Collins, II, 4.

cal Manuscripts Commission). Since the calendar summarizes the contents of the letters in current spelling, except for occasional verbatim quotations, while Collins prints them *in extenso* in the original spelling, the quotations below are unavoidably inconsistent in spelling.

Rowland Whyte, according to Lewys Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, was the son of Richard Whyte of Beaumaris, County Anglesey.[4] The family name was originally Wynn. Dwnn states that the name was changed to its English equivalent of Whyte about 1565 at the request of the Earl of Pembroke, who had two John Wynns in his service, and asked the John Wynn who was the grandfather of Rowland Whyte to change his name to prevent confusion. He did so, and his descendants continued the name. Richard Whyte, about 1563, purchased the monastic property at Llanfaes called The Friars. He was sheriff of Anglesey four times (1568, 1582, 1589, 1594).

We have Rowland Whyte's own word for it that he was born in Anglesey, but the date is not known. In 1600–1601, he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, asking to be made muster-master of Anglesey:

> I was born in that county. Please you to be the mean I may have the nomination of the place for one sufficient and able to train men, and if necessary to command them.[5]

Whyte's association with the Sidney family must have begun early, for the first references to him show that he was known to Sir Henry Sidney and his son Sir Philip. I have found no account of Whyte's schooling other than the fact of his travel (with some one named Simon) on the continent. Hubert Languet, writing to Sir Philip in 1579 about the young Robert Sidney, also on the continent, adds: '. . . et dixi Rolando et Simeoni, illustrissimum tuum parentem et tu velle, ut ipsi obtemperent praeceptori'; and, in the same letter, 'Rolandi Wit ingenium, modestia, et sedulitas, mihi admodum probatur; quare esset ipsi reliquendus'. In 1580, Languet wrote: 'Si eum miseritis Lipsiam, consulo ne quenquam Anglum ipsi adjungatis praeter Rolandum.'[6] Rowland Whyte certainly seems to be the 'Mr. Whyte' mentioned in a letter of

[4] Lewys Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, ed. Sir S. R. Meyrick (Llandovery, 1846), II, 186–187. Lodge says that Rowland Whyte was the son of Griffith Whyte of Nigol in Caernarvonshire, and implies that Rowland Whyte was born there.

[5] *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury . . . Part XI* (Dublin, 1906, H.M.C.), p. 100. I do not know that he ever received this appointment.

[6] Hubert Languet, *Epistolae ad Phillipum Sydneium*, ed. Lord Hailes (Edinburgh, 1776), Letters LXXIX and LXXXVI, pp. 233–234, 256. The index entry is under *Rolandus* and is glossed: 'Roland Whyte, Sydneiorum famulus: vir fidei, probatae, et patronis carus'.

1580 from Sir Henry Sidney to his son Robert.[7] Sir Henry is glad that Robert has the '*Dutch* Tounge' [German?] 'suffycently', and continues: 'You may thearfore save Money and discharge your *Dutchman*; and do it in deed, and send for Mr. *Whyte*; he ys an honest young Man, and hys fairely [family?] honest, and good and sound to me and my Freyndys.'

It is possible that he was preceded in the service of the Sidneys by an uncle named Henry or Harry Whyte, in whose care Robert had gone to the continent. He was presumably more a companion than a servant in the usual sense. Sir Henry's letters show that Harry Whyte sometimes advanced money to Robert.[8] Sir Henry said, however, in one letter, 'I cannot look for, nor almost wysh to here better of a Man, than I here of hym; and how I intend to deale with hym, you may se by the Letter I send hym. He shall have his *l.* 20 yearly, and you your 100*l.* and so be as mery as you may.'[9] Languet, on the other hand, although he thought highly of Harry Whyte's integrity, was not sure he was the ideal companion for Robert because he knew no foreign language well enough to converse in it; he avoided strangers. To Languet, this was a disadvantage to Robert, who should speak only in German in Germany and thus come to understand the affairs of the country.[10] That Sir Philip sometimes wrote to Harry Whyte is shown in a letter of Robert Sidney to his father from Prague in 1580: 'My Brother likewise, in his Letter to *Harry White*, wrote that if there were any good Warrs I showld go to them, but as yet I haue hard of none.'[11] Sir Philip once asked Robert to be remembered to 'honest *Harry White*, and bid him be merry'.[12] Sir Philip willed Harry Whyte, along with two other servants, an annuity of £40 yearly for the remainder of his life.[13] Sir Henry Sidney himself as early as 1577 had employed Henry Whyte as a messenger.[14] The rela-

7 Collins, I, 271; De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 94–95 (in part).

8 Collins, I, 246 and 271.

9 Collins, I, 272.

10 Hubert Languet, *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, S. A. Pears (London, 1845), pp. 163–164.

11 Collins, I, 285–286.

12 *Ibid.*, I, 285.

13 *Ibid.*, I, 111.

14 De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 63, 69. He may also be the Mr. Whyte referred to in 1580 who delivered in London a report from Sir Henry Sidney about affairs in Anglesey (Collins, I, 277). A Captain Henry Whyte died in Flushing in 1589, and seems to be the man who had served the Sidney family so faithfully. On 15 September of that year, Sir William Borlase wrote to Sir Robert Sidney: 'I am very sory to heare of the Death of my very good Freinde Captene *Henry White*, in whome I knowe your Lordship hath lost

tionship between Henry and Rowland Whyte may be inferred from a letter of 1580 from Sir Philip to Robert: 'I cannot write now to H. White, doe yow excuse me. For his nephew, they are but passions in my father, which wee must beare with reverence, but I am sory he should returne till he had the fruite of his travell, for yow shall never have such a servant as he would prove.'[15] It is significant that Sir Robert Sidney in his letters never called Whyte by his first name; he is always 'Mr. Whyte' or 'Rowland Whyte'.

Rowland Whyte's own letters also imply a long association with the Sidney family. In 1597–1598, he wrote Sir Robert that he was glad that his travail in obtaining a leave for him from Flushing was so agreeable to him: 'I did but discharge my duty to your service, wherein I have spent the best part of my age . . . From you and by you I breath and live, I thanke God to be beholding to no man. You have bred me and inabled me to serve you.' In 1600, he wrote: 'Be assured I will never be a traitor to you or your noble house in which I was bred.'[16]

How Whyte spent the years between his period of travel on the continent and 1595, when he was sent from Flushing by Sir Robert Sidney to 'sollicit his Affairs at the Court and to relate to him what passed there', is partly conjectural. But that he had served in some military capacity under Sir Robert is clear. Sir Robert's first reference to him is in a letter of 1595 to his wife, when he says that he is sending Rowland Whyte to her from Flushing to help arrange transport for a visit of Lady Sidney to Flushing.[17] Whatever the place Whyte had held in Flushing, he kept it for some time, with no duties there, for in 1599 he wrote Sir Robert: 'Touching my place in Flushing, so long as you are governor I have no mind to do it away; it is the best stay I have as yet to live upon.'[18] A few days later he wrote, in some anxiety, 'Let no envious

---

a very good Servaunt. I woulde wishe your Lordship to take some Care whom yow admit into the Place which yow had appointed for him, for that he had neede be a Man of some Governement that shall occupie that Roome' (Collins, I, 299). As an instance of the kind of summary generally used in the De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, this appears as: 'I am sorry to hear of the death of Capt. Henry White; he had need be a man of some government to occupy that room' (II, 103).

[15] *The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. A. Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1923), III, 130. Collins (I, 283) reads *Circuite* for *fruite* and *N. Whyte* for *H. White*. Fueillerat, however, in a note, says that 'H. White *might be* N. White'. I am confident that the reference is to Henry Whyte.

[16] De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 331 and 458.

[17] *Ibid.*, II, 160.

[18] *Ibid.*, II, 385.

disposicon take hold of my desire to doe away my place in Flushing'; he had intended relinquishing it only when he thought he saw in Sir Robert a resolution to part with his position as governor there; he would not have remained with a new governor.[19] There are no later references to the matter.

There are two differing accounts of Whyte's marriage in 1599. Lewys Dwnn states that Rowland Whyte married 'Lettys, daughter of . . . Besbets of . . .'. He lists Whyte's children as Harry, Herbert, Gilbert, 'Dows', and Mary. Meyrick, a later editor of the work, adds, in a footnote, the names of two other children, Rowland and Sidney (a daughter).[20] J. E. Griffith, in his *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families*, follows this, but places Rowland as the second son, and 'Doulce' after Mary.[21] The parish register of Penhurst records the christening of two of Whyte's children, Henry, entered on 29 July 1600, and Herbert, entered on 4 March 1602–1603.[22] The other account of the marriage of Whyte, by Lodge, says he married Anne Pilcher of London, but gives no date.[23]

If Rowland Whyte had mentioned his wife's name in the letter telling Sir Robert of his marriage, there would be no uncertainty. But he only said, on 10 November 1599: 'I was married 2 moneths agone, which for some private respects I kept from the world and my honorable frends as long as I cold.'[24] On 28 June 1600 he wrote Sir Robert

[19] *Ibid.*, II, 386.

[20] Dwnn, II, 187.

[21] J. E. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families* (Horncastle, 1914), p. 243.

[22] A manuscript transcript in the Society of Genealogists' Library in London, transcribed for me by Miss P. W. Shield of London.

[23] Lodge, III, 243. If Lodge is correct and if at some later time Whyte did marry Anne Pilcher, it may explain a number of references to the births and burials of children of a Rowland and an Anne Whyte, all in early childhood or infancy, in the *Register of St. Martin-in-the-Fields* during the 1620s (Harleian Society, LXVI). I do not believe this was the letter-writer. Lodge states that Rowland Whyte was survived by an only son, William. I have not found this name elsewhere as a son. The sons of Rowland as given by Dwnn and Griffith are found in many later accounts in Wales.

[24] De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 413. In passing, it may be noted that A. M. Burke's *Memorials of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster* (London, 1914), p. 310, lists the marriage of a Rowland Whyte to a Jane Bell, 8 June 1600, but this is more than a year later than the date given in Whyte's own letter. Nor does this marriage with Jane Bell agree with the accounts in the register of St. Martin-in-the-Fields of children of a Rowland and Anne Whyte. The register (Harleian Society, XXV, 268) also lists the christening of a Rowlandus Whyte on 26 December 1599, but does not give the names of the parents. This date does not agree with any other I have found.

from 'Welplace by Penshurst', where he had gone to see his wife; on 19 July he wrote that a son had been born; on 22 July he was at Well Place to see his son christened.[25] Lady Sidney had been present, for on 26 July he wrote that he was 'infinitely bound to my Lady for the honour she did me at the christening of my boy'.[26] This date is confirmed by the entry on 29 July in the Penshurst parish register, already mentioned, of the christening, presumably a few days earlier, of Henry, son of Rowland Whyte, gentleman. The name of Whyte's wife is not given. Whyte lived at Well Place at least until the christening of another son, Herbert, in 1602–1603. Whyte evidently had Well Place in mind when he wrote in September 1600 that, since the court was entirely engaged in hunting and sports, and the courtiers mostly dispersed, 'in this sporting Time, I steale from Court to play the good Husband for 4 or 5 Daies'.[27]

Whatever home or homes Whyte may have maintained after his marriage, it is certain that (contrary to Lodge's statement that he lived in Baynard's Castle with the Earl of Pembroke) before it he lived in lodgings in London, and continued to do so after it when there upon business for Sir Robert, except when he lived at the court, wherever it was, after his appointment in 1598 as postmaster. His earliest letters, those of 1595, are usually dated simply 'London'. Two, written at a house in London that he had taken for Lady Sidney and her children—Alderman Catcher's house, 'hard by Austin friers gate'—were obviously composed during intervals of attendance upon Lady Sidney, and do not imply that he had quarters there.[28] A few were from the court—evidently from any spot he could find for writing—when he was there on behalf of Sir Robert, usually about supplies for Flushing or a leave for him. Throughout the period 1595–1602 letters were often sent to Sir Robert from Penshurst Place. During 1596–1597 the ones from London were usually dated 'the Strand', but he evidently wrote wherever opportunity afforded; one is from a 'Scriueners Shop by the *Exchange*', one from 'Capt. Berries Chamber in Fleetstreat'.[29] Many of those of 1599 and 1600 were written at Baynard's Castle, but that he did not live there, as Lodge assumed, is indicated in a letter from there to Sir Robert

[25] De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 471, 473, 474.
[26] *Ibid.*, II, 474.
[27] Collins, II, 213: De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 481.
[28] De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 177, 178; 170–172, 180, 183, etc., deal with Catcher's house.
[29] Collins, II, 24, 25; De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 242, 245. Collins gives *Bernes* for *Berries*.

about a packet of letters brought to his lodgings in the Strand by a Dutch messenger, who 'wold by no meanes leave yt'. Sir Robert must order his posts to leave letters at his lodgings, or he would not receive them; he leaves orders there for them to be sped to him. Sir Robert could put down on the packet whatever he would about charges; Whyte's host would discharge them.[30] Twice (1599 and 1600) he asks that letters be sent to him at the Black Boy in the Strand; one letter (1600) was sent from there.[31]

After he began his duties as postmaster, letters were sent from the court wherever it was in residence—Whitehall, Richmond, Greenwich, Nonsuch, etc. On 23 June 1600 he wrote Sir Robert that if he writes him at the court, 'where I live most, at the Signet Chamber your letters shall find me'.[32] Letters were often endorsed specifically—'This Sonday morning', 'This Saturday morning'; some were inscribed 'at midnight', or '11 Clock at night', or 'late', or 'at night'. One letter ends, 'Yt drawes well neare midnight and I feare the post will away er my letter come unto hym.'[33] Dates are often indicated by whatever saint's day it was—St. George's Day, 'St. John's Day at night', St. Stephen's Day, 'Our St. Davies Day, being Ashwednesday'; or by whatever festival it was—Shrove Monday, Easter Day, Whitson Eve, etc. The only other reference I have seen to Whyte's own residence is one of 1607 which merely called it his 'poor cottage' where he and his friends were merry because the Earl of Shrewsbury had sent him three 'red deare pies'; they remembered the healths of the earl and his wife: 'Long may you live to send me more, and God make me worthy the love and favor of soe great a Lord and soe good a Lord.'[34] The newsletters to Shrewsbury, between 1603 and 1607, were sent from the court wherever it was.

Meanwhile, Whyte had been acquiring leases upon various properties. As early as 1594, Whyte had been given by Sir Robert Sidney the lease of a 'manor and other lands', once the property of the Earl of Leicester, at Aldersbrook in Essex.[35] In 1599 there is record of a sale to him of a land grant in Bageingoreth, County Anglesey, of a yearly value of £7 6s. upon payment of £465.[36] In 1604 there were two other leases, one for land in Leicestershire, and another for the hamlet of Pengogo in

30 De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 384.
31 *Ibid.*, II, 381, 470, 477.
32 *Ibid.*, II, 470.
33 *Ibid.*, II, 267.
34 Lodge, III, 345.
35 *Ibid.*, I, 9.
36 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598–1601*, p. 213.

Kemitmayne, County Carnarvon, to Rowland Whyte, 'Postmaster of the Court'.[37] The next year Rowland Whyte 'and others' were given the grant of the manor of Knoll in Kent, and Whyte was also given a lease in reversion of demesne lands at Otford, Kent, for forty years.[38] Other references to property, some of it in Wales, are also to be found.

Rowland Whyte is referred to as a 'crown farmer' of a farm in Dyndaythwy, County Anglesey, when in 1609 he sued two men of Beaumaris for encroaching on the crown lands into possession of which he had entered in 1607.[39] In 1618 he is cited as from 'Llanvees', Anglesey, when he was a trustee for the marriage settlement of Sir Robert Sidney's daughter Barbara.[40] In 1624–1625 one Thomas Symons petitioned Prince Charles for a lease of the 'prefines and postfines within the County Palatine and City of Chester, and the County of Flint, for 31 years, as well as of the profits of the original seal there, the same being held in the Principality of North Wales by Rowland Whyte, at a yearly rent of £6 5s. 4d.'[41] In 1608 there had been mention of Rowland Whyte in connection with the seals of the counties, when he and three others were sued over profits made from using the original seals and all the fines from lands in Carnarvonshire, Anglesey, and Merioneth. Whyte's defense was that after Philip, earl of Montgomery, had been appointed chancellor of these counties, he had made Whyte his deputy, and as such he and the others had collected the moneys mentioned in the bill on the earl's behalf, 'as legally they might do'.[42]

But Rowland Whyte had connections with his native Wales other than leases upon lands. In May 1603 he was given a grant in reversion as constable of Carnarvon Castle, and entered upon his duties in June of that year with a salary of £60 a year.[43] The office was given him for life,

[37] *C.S.P.D., 1603–10*, p. 87.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 222.

[39] *Exchequer Proceedings concerning Wales in Tempore James I*, ed. T. I. J. Jones (Cardiff, 1955), pp. 6–7.

[40] De L'Isle and Dudley, I, 15.

[41] *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers 1515–1690* (Cardiff, 1926), p. 207.

[42] *Exchequer Proceedings concerning Wales*, p. 46. A reference to Whyte in 1609 is given in the *Commons Debates*, ed. Wallace Notestein (New Haven, 1933), VII, 441. A commission to several persons, including Whyte, and to 'all justices of peace and town officers', gives orders about grain too musty for food that could now be released for the making of starch.

[43] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603–10*, p. 14; *Addenda, 1580–1625*, p. 424; Edward Breese, *Kalendars of Guynedd, Chronological Lists of Lords Lieutenants*, etc. (London, 1873), p. 127.

but in 1622 he is spoken of as having 'compounded with the King for £500 by resigning the castle to the Prince, of whom it was bought by the King'.[44] Whyte also held for a time the post of court remembrancer for Wales; a letter of August 1614 from the council to the president and vice-president of the Marches of Wales stated that they were to admit Rowland Whyte and Thomas Alured to that office.[45] The grant was later given them for life, but for some reason they relinquished it, for in 1621 the office was given to two others upon its surrender by Whyte and Alured.[46] That Whyte's friends in Wales considered him to be influential at court is shown in a letter of a Sir William Thomas, who wrote Sir John Wynn in 1617 of the attempt to place a son of one of their friends in the service of the Duke of Buckingham 'by Mr. Rowland Whyte's means', but enemies of Sir William himself had foiled the attempt.[47]

References to Whyte in the reign of Charles I include an order for a payment of £666 13s. 4d. as his majesty's free gift under a privy seal dated 30 April 1625.[48] Also mention is made in 1628 of a grant to Philip, earl of Montgomery, for twenty-one years, upon the surrender of a former grant made by the 'late King' to Rowland Whyte and Sir Thomas Tracy, of the 'overslipped customs upon baize and other woollen stuffs transported by merchant-strangers in foreign parts'.[49] In 1623 a letter from Lord Keeper Williams had been sent to several persons in Wales, Rowland Whyte among them, to call witnesses and examine the treatment of a poor clergyman in Wales.[50] In 1626 the Privy Council sent directions to four knights and esquires in each shire in Wales to inquire about money levied 'to a good valew' some eight years before for 'the setting out and furnishing of souldiers' and other purposes which had not been so employed; it still remained in the hands of persons unknown; they were to find out where the money was. Rowland Whyte, Esquire, was one of the four so notified in Anglesey.[51] These references indicate that he was at that time living in Anglesey; if so, I do not know when he left London. Certainly he was still serving Sir Robert Sidney

44 *Calendar of Wynn of Gwydir Papers*, p. 165.
45 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611–18*, p. 252.
46 *Ibid.*, p. 555; *C.S.P.D., 1619*, p. 236.
47 *Calendar of Wynn of Gwydir Papers*, p. 128.
48 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1625–6*, p. 49.
49 *C.S.P.D., 1628–9*, pp. 29, 115.
50 *Calendar of Wynn of Gwydir Papers*, pp. 176–177.
51 *Acts of the Privy Council, 1626*, June–Dec., pp. 113–114.

as late as 1611; letters from Sir Robert and from others to him prove that he was still agent for him in his many activities at home and in Flushing. Perhaps he left London after he relinquished his office as postmaster of the court in 1614. He certainly inherited the property called The Friars; the notes by Dwnn prove it, as does a deed recorded in the *Archeologia Cambrensis*: John Whyte, grandfather of Rowland Whyte, had purchased from Queen Elizabeth the township of Caernen Ucha, together with the dwelling called The Friars near Beaumaris, and left it with all his lands to his son Richard Whyte, who bequeathed it to his son Rowland Whyte, who bequeathed it to his son Henry Whyte.[52]

Perhaps it was because of duties connected with some of his Welsh activities that Rowland Whyte relinquished his office as postmaster of the court in 1614, or perhaps it was because of the salary that went with it—two shillings per day, from which he was expected to furnish horses and men, with an added two shillings paid for the 'extraordinary' posts which were set up whenever the sovereigns went on progresses. He received the appointment in 1598; the Privy Council of that year sent a letter to Sir John Stanhope, 'Treasurer of the Chamber and Master of her Majesty's Postes', saying that whereas Edward Burnham, 'her Majesty's Poste of the Courte, late deceased', having found that the charges he sustained in horses and men for his duties had resulted in a great loss, he had been granted an additional two shillings per day when her majesty was on progress; and the 'said Edward Burnham is lately dead and Rowland White now admitted into his place as her Majesty's Poste of the Courte', he is to receive the same 'extraordinary' two shillings whenever her majesty is on progress.[53] Many of Whyte's letters show him staying at court in his official capacity. Also, letters from the Privy Council to cities such as Chester and Bristol were delivered to 'Lewis, servaunt to Mr. White, Poste of the Court' for his attention.[54] Some *Acts of the Privy Council*, especially in 1613 and 1614, contain directions to Sir John Stanhope about establishing 'extraordinary posts' where no posts existed in routes of royal progresses and stated that Rowland Whyte, post of the court, was to attend him in placing them and seeing to the sending of the royal mail.[55] By 1614–1615, Whyte's services had ended; instructions after that were issued to John Crowe, his majesty's

[52] *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Ser. I, Vol. IV (1849), 284.
[53] *Acts of the Privy Council*, n.s. XXIX, 1598–9, p. 192.
[54] *A.P.C.*, n.s. XXXI, 1600–1, p. 13.
[55] *A.P.C. 1613–1614*, pp. 134–135, 257, 485–486.

postmaster of the court.[56] For their own sake, it is interesting to note superscriptions on two of Whyte's letters to the Earl of Shrewsbury. One of October 1604, sending word in haste that the Earl of Pembroke is coming to visit Shrewsbury, he endorsed: 'Hast, hast, post, hast. Post of Tuxford, I pray you send this L^re^ speedely away. Whyte.' Another is endorsed, 'Hast, hast. I pray you lett this run wth the packett.'[57] On the other hand, the inscription of a letter of William, Lord Herbert to the Earl of Essex shows that he considered the most direct delivery at the court to be to send the letter to Whyte in person: 'to my most assured friend Mr. Rowland White, postmaster for the Court.'[58]

Since there is scarcely a personage of the day who does not cross and re-cross the stage in Whyte's reports to Sir Robert, it is unnecessary to repeat here the references to the best-known ones made by historians and writers of biographical sketches. From the families of the Sidneys, the Herberts, and the Mannerses, the Earl of Essex and his followers, the Cecils, father and son, to lesser-known figures such as Stephen Le Sieur, who had served Sir Philip Sidney and, as Sir Stephen, was later to be sent on various embassies,[59] and many others of whom no notice has ever been taken, they are all there. But there are, unfortunately, no references to literary personages. The nearest we come to those is in a mention to Sir Robert that the *Arcadia* was 'newly printed in Scotland; which will make them cheap, but is hurtful to Pownsonby, who held them at a high price';[60] and in such inconclusive references to the drama as reporting that Sir Gilly Merrick had given 'a very great supper' at Essex House, and that they had two plays which 'kept them up till 1 oclocke after midnight';[61] or that 'My Lord Darby hath put up the playes of the children in Pawles to his great paines and charge.'[62] Once he notes that the queen had 'graced the daunsing and plaies with her own presence . . . and plaied at cards in the presence'.[63] But, after all, it was Whyte's duty to report the currents and undercurrents of things at the court, not whatever he may have seen or known of things of other

[56] *A.P.C. 1615–1616*, pp. 11, 259, 672, etc.

[57] Lodge, III, 242, 259.

[58] Salisbury MSS., Part XIV (London, 1923), p. 164.

[59] For Sir Stephen Le Sieur, see my 'Sir Stephen Le Sieur and Sir Philip Sidney', *Modern Language Quar.* XVII (1956), 340–351.

[60] De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 387, a letter of 1 September 1599.

[61] *Ibid.*, II, 322, a letter of 15 February 1598.

[62] *Ibid.*, II, 415, a letter of 13 November 1599.

[63] *Ibid.*, II, 425.

kinds. Also, it would seem that his many activities would have left little time for idle pleasures such as going to the Curtain or the Globe.

Of references to the queen, of which there are enough to fill a small volume, a few examples may be noted that illustrate his perceptiveness and, of course, his loyalty. Once he shrewdly observed: 'nothing is so much thought vpon as Dauncing and Playing. Some were there, hoping for Preferment, as my Lord *North*, and Sir *Henry Leigh*. They play at Cards with the Queen, and it is like to be all the Honor that will fall vnto them this Yeare.'[64] We see the queen's interest in recreations when he wrote from Richmond in January 1599–1600, this 'Twelve Eve', that her majesty comes much abroad these holidays: 'almost every night she is in the Presence, to see the ladies dawnce the old and new cowntry dawnces, with the taber and pipe.'[65] Once she planned to see a rope-dancer and ordered a bear-baiting: 'This day she apointes to see a Frenchman doe feates upon a rope in the Conduit Court. Tomorrow she hath comanded the beares, the bull and the ape to be baited in the Tiltyard. Upon Wednesday she will have solemne dawncing.'[66] But the following day he wrote that she had a cold, and that as yet they had had neither the 'feates on the rope, nor the bull or the beare bayted'.[67] The queen's pleasure in hunting is several times mentioned in the autumn of 1600. On 30 August he said: 'I can say no more, but that this gracious souverayne of ours is very well, and meanes to kill many staggs and buckes er she remove from the hunting cowntreis. Her body endures more travell than they can that attend her.'[68] From Oatlands, on 1 September, he says that the court was so given over to hunting and sports that he had stolen away for a few days to visit his family.[69] On 6 September he wrote: 'Her Majesty . . . takes great pleasure in hunting and sporting in her parkes and forests; her daily musique is the sweet cry of excellent hownds.'[70] Her energy often dismayed the courtiers, especially in her progresses. When one had been decided upon in 1600, Whyte says: 'The Lords are sorry for yt, but her Majesty byds the old stay behynd, and the young and able to goe along with her. She called for the jests yesternight, and mislikes with the shortnes of some removes, being

[64] Collins, I, 385; De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 205 (in part).
[65] De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 427.
[66] *Ibid.*, II, 461.
[67] *Ibid.*, II, 461.
[68] *Ibid.*, II, 481.
[69] This passage is quoted above, p. 222.
[70] De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 481.

but 5 and 4 miles.'[71] Many small pictures of her are found, as her going 'to the Chappell, very princelike, and in very good health'; and, after her horse had stepped upon the foot of the Earl of Worcester who was helping her alight, going to see how he did.[72]

Since Whyte's only letters after James's coronation are newsletters to the Earl of Shrewsbury, it is less easy to determine what he made of his Scottish majesty. But it seems easy to read much into one comment of 1606 about his love of hunting. At Hampton, 'the last stag was fownd, and bravely killed, and his heade brought in great pomp to the privy chamber, wch hath made an end of all displeasure wth houndes and huntsmen'.[73] Of the courtiers, some of the best instances of Whyte's lively style are in accounts of William, Lord Herbert, later Earl of Pembroke. In 1600 he says that he 'resolves this Yeare, to shew hymself a Man at Armes, and prepares for yt; and because it is his first Tyme of runninge, yt were good he came in with some excellent Deuise.' Whyte asked Sir Robert to advise the earl about it, for it was his fear that Mr. Sanford [Henry Sandford, secretary to the Earl of Pembroke] 'will in his Humor, persuade my Lord to some pedantike Invention'.[74] Lord Herbert is thus shown at his preparations for the tilting: 'he leapes, he dawnces, he singes, he giues Cownterbuffes, he makes his Horse runne with more Speede; he thanckes me, and meanes to be exceeding merry with you this Winter in *Baynards* Castell.'[75]

Apart from the historical figures and public events, the most interesting phases of the letters are what they reveal of Whyte's relations with Sir Robert Sidney and his family and the kind of service rendered for him. What remuneration he received at any time for his services I have been unable to discover, but some of the early letters show that he sometimes had to wait for it. In 1596 he wrote from the Strand that it was 'so chargeable living here for myself and my man that if your Lordship be not my very good lord I shall not be long able to endure yt'.[76] In 1597–1598 he wrote: 'I beseech that I may be in some sort relieved, for I have received no entertainment since I came from you last, which is five months.'[77]

71 *Ibid.*, II, 475. *Jests*=(lists of) the stages of the progress.
72 *Ibid.*, II, 205, 381.
73 Lodge, III, 311.
74 Collins, II, 216; De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 484 (in part).
75 Collins, II, 220.
76 De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 225.
77 *Ibid.*, II, 319.

Yet some measure of the man's integrity is shown in the way in which he could use plain-dealing when Sir Robert was standing in his own light. Two trivial instances concern Sir Robert's handwriting, and are not without interest as giving a glimpse of a very human lord treasurer. In November 1595, Whyte said that Sir Robert's letter to Lord Burghley was 'so ill written that my Lord could not read it; so Mr. Mainard was fain to help him'.[78] Sharper words came another time when he reported that 'My Lord Treasurer saies that you have no reason to put hym to such paines as you doe to reade your ciphres, he knowes you can wryte a better hand, and desires you to use yt unto hym or to let some other wryte them for you. Mr. Hix [Hicks, Burghley's secretary] tells me that he was angry because he cold not reade yt, and cast yt ofte from hym; your lordship may doe very well to have a care to please hym yf you meane to have your letters reade.'[79] Confirmation of Sir Robert's bad handwriting is given in a letter of Sir Philip in 1580: 'I would by the Way your Worship would learne a better Hand, you write worse then I, and I write evell enough'.[80] Whyte's plain-dealing, however, could be of another kind, as when he spoke of the speculation at court as to why an unexpected leave (1597–1598) had been granted: he hears that it was 'mused at'. Some, he said, 'doe imagine, that you shalbe Vice-chamberlen, yet they say you are to younge, and to amorous to be conversant with, and amongest the Ladies . . . but when you come, I hope you will looke to your own privat Buisnes, which most neerely touches you, and lett Gods Will be donne for the rest.'[81] It was no sycophant who wrote in September 1600 'when you come over you must haue a very speciall Regard how you carry your self in Court, for I know your Doings will be nearly looked into. I beseach your Lordship to pardon my wonted Maner of plaine Dealing with you.'[82]

The most delightful parts of Whyte's letters are those referring to the children of Sir Robert and Lady Sidney and to Penshurst Place. A few references here must stand for many. One glimpse into the household at Penshurst is given when he wrote in September 1595: 'My lady is in health, Mrs. Mary and Kat. do much profitt in their booke. Mr. Wil-

[78] *Ibid.*, II, 191.
[79] *Ibid.*, II, 243–244.
[80] Collins, I, 285.
[81] *Ibid.*, II, 94.
[82] *Ibid.*, II, 215; De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 484 (in part).

liam daunces a galliard in his doublett and hose. Mrs. Bes cannot yet speake, and litle Mrs. Phillip can goe alone. God bless them all and lend you liff to see them all well bestowed.'[83] Soon afterward he wrote of Sir Robert's eldest daughter Mary (later Lady Wroth): 'God bless her, she is very forward in her learning, writing, and other exercises she is put to, as dawncing and the virginals. My lady is well, so are all the children.'[84] Some of the most moving accounts are of a serious epidemic of measles. The births and the christenings of children are reported to Sir Robert in Flushing. In 1595, during a visit to London of Lady Sidney, he wrote that the lord admiral 'did very much joy in your Children, and told Mrs. *Mary* she was already a fitt Maid for the Queen. God bless them, and make you long liue to be carefull of them; for goodlier Children this World hath not.'[85] Another time he wrote from Penshurst Place that he had come there to do his duty 'to my lady and your sweet children, such a sight can a man see no where els. God bless them, and make you carefull of them, for here are two wilbe ready before you are a ware of.'[86] Once he had to report that Lady Sidney's teeth 'doe ake extremely', and that Katherine 'hath the yellow jawniss; the rest are all well'.[87] This year Whyte felt constrained to do more plain-speaking to his employer: 'I beseach your Lordship determine vpon some Cours to liue within your Compas, and to gett out of Debt, for I feare me it wilbe long er any Aduancement wilbe laid vpon you here for your Good. God hath blessed you with many and sweet Children, it is now full Time for you to cast how to prouide for them; wherein God will assuredly blesse you, when you will rightly take it in Hand, and goe about to doe it.'[88] On St. George's Day of the same year (1597) he wrote of planning to take the children to court, having borrowed the chamber of Sir John Fortescue that they may see the queen in her procession.[89] At another time, he says that all are well; the children

[83] De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 164. For Sir William Sidney, oldest son of Sir Robert, see my 'Ben Jonson's "To Sir William Sidney, on his Birthday" ', *Modern Language Rev.* LII (1957), 168–176. For the daughter named Philip, see my 'Ben Jonson's Epigram CXIV, to Mistress Philip Sidney', *Jour. of English and Germanic Philology* XLV (1946), 214–217.

[84] De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 176.

[85] Collins, I, 366; De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 191.

[86] De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 223.

[87] *Ibid.*, II, 241. A later letter says that Lady Sidney is still troubled with the 'tooth ake, and Mrs. Bess Sidney hath an ague, but Mrs. Kat. is recovered of the yellow jawniss' (*ibid.*, II, 246).

[88] Collins, II, 26.

[89] *Ibid.*, II, 44.

are 'kept at their bookes, they dance, they sing, they play on the lute, and are carefully kept unto yt'.[90] One more account must suffice. In 1600 he wrote of the five-year-old Robert, later second earl of Leicester: 'All your Children are in Health, the 3 greater, and litle Mr. *Robert*, were at Court, and in the Presence at St. *Georges* Feast, where they were much respected. I brought vp Mr. *Robert*, when the Knights were at Dinner; who plaied the Wagg soe pretily and boldly, that all tooke Pleasure in him', especially the lord admiral, who gave him sweetmeats. Robert 'prated with his Honor beyond Measure'.[91]

Some of Whyte's references to Penshurst Place call to mind Ben Jonson's well-known praise of the home of the Sidneys. He wrote (in 1599) that he had had 'much a doe' to persuade Lady Sidney to come to London, 'she being soe farre in love with sweet Penshurst; and nothing cold have brought her unto yt, but the protestations I made that the parke [Otford] wold be gonne, if she wold not take the paines in your Lordships absence to come up and to the Court.'[92] Another time, she had been ill in London, but now that she was at home again, Penshurst would restore her. She 'takes great Pleasure in this Place and surely I never saw a sweeter. All Things finely prospering about it; the Garden is well kept.'[93]

Surely no part of Whyte's duties took more diplomacy and persistence than helping secure leaves for Sir Robert from Flushing. It usually meant managing, one way or another, to see every person at the court, man or woman, who might for the moment be in the queen's favor. When Whyte once wrote of Lord Buckhurst's asking him if he followed Sidney's business in England, and he had answered that he 'did solicit all your matters at Court, and was no stranger to the rest',[94] he was speaking sober truth. The details of one such endeavor, beginning in the autumn of 1597, and lasting until March of the following year, will show his difficulties.[95] To take up the account in October, Whyte had actually seen a permission already signed by the queen, who then heard that Sir Robert's next in command, Sir Edmund Uvedale, had landed in England, which she 'was much offended withal and commanded your leave to be stayed. Mr. Secretary [Robert Cecil]

[90] De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 437.
[91] Collins, II, 190.
[92] De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 409.
[93] Collins, II, 199; De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 467.
[94] De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 452.
[95] The entire incident is from De L'Isle and Dudley, II, *passim*.

marvelled you let your lieutenant come over.' Whyte then told Cecil that Sir Edmund had been ill and that there were captains in Flushing 'able and sufficient' to whose trust Sir Robert would commit the town, and named them. The queen, Cecil said, could not 'abyde' one of them, but Cecil thought the second was a 'sufficient' man; he would deal with the queen again. That evening Cecil told Whyte that the queen could not be moved until she knew what man Sir Robert meant to leave in his place. So Cecil advised Sidney himself to write the queen a letter 'that should not exceed 22 lines'; he would deliver the letter himself if no one else would, although he hoped Sir John Stanhope (master of the post) would do it. Uvedale would dispatch his business as soon as possible and return to Flushing; but Whyte sees he is 'a weak [sick?] man'. Later Whyte wrote that he had 'left no reason' to make Sir Robert Cecil see that Flushing would be safe if entrusted to Sergeant-Major Goring, but Cecil said that Sir Robert must himself write the queen.

Soon Whyte wrote that he could not understand why Uvedale's return to England should so easily have hindered Sir Robert's leave. A 'great lady' at the court told him that the queen intended making Sir Robert the new vice-chamberlain—but of course nothing ever came of that rumor. Burghley himself later told Whyte that the queen would not consent to Sir Robert's coming over until the return of Uvedale; Whyte then 'dealt with' Uvedale, who hoped to return within three weeks. But from October on nothing was achieved; by January several persons had intervened, including Sir Robert's aunt the Countess of Huntingdon. The countess also tried again later in the month. On 21 January Burghley told Whyte that the queen would not grant the leave 'in these doubtful times'.

On 25 January the Countess of Warwick bade Whyte to take care that all of Sir Robert's officers on leave in England return to their posts, especially Uvedale. On 11 February Cecil told Whyte that 'before the next terme the Queen did assuredly promes hym you should come over . . . the Queen is soe carefull of Flushing, that she thinckes yf you were away, yt were in no safety.' By 18 February Essex had protested that he would not forget the leave; by 1 March the Countess of Pembroke had written again to Burghley. On 2 March, the leave was granted; Burghley wanted it dispatched at once, lest it be revoked. Whyte was preparing Baynard's Castle for the occupancy of the family. On 4 March Whyte wrote that he had sent Sir Robert's servant Thomas Novett in person to Flushing with the letter. On 7 March he learned

that some military enterprise in Flushing would delay Sir Robert's return. On 18 March he wrote him to come as quickly as possible—to remember the 'a doe' he had to secure the leave. Sir Robert evidently came shortly afterward, for a letter from him of 24 March was written from Baynard's Castle.

Two other references to a leave, this time in 1600, may be noted. In October poor Whyte wrote: 'After I had beate my Braines to find out the Mistery of your Leave not being granted, I came to the Knowledge, that her Majestie shuld say, That she was importuned for *Sidneys* Leave, who had no Buisnes here, but to seake a Title of Honor.'[96] On 30 October he wrote: 'Your Leaue is now graunted, but with such a doe, as I never knew the like; it is minsed and sawsed, as by a Lettre written vnto you (which shall accompany it) from my Lord Admirall, and Mr. Secretary, will appeare more at lardge. In few Words, you had not come ouer at all, if Mr. Secretary had not assured, vpon his Honor, that you were very ill.'[97]

Whyte's duties in following Sir Robert's business at the court also meant seeking orders for supplies for Flushing—men, horses, ammunition, and the like, and, what was more difficult, getting them paid for. His letters are filled with the details of such business transactions, some of which are also recorded in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*. The *Acts of the Privy Council* also record some of these transactions. That Whyte was tireless in his labors here as elsewhere is shown in a letter of 1596 to Sir Robert from Sir Thomas Wilkes: 'Your Suite for Satisfaction for the threescore and three Horses is graunted and dispatched, and the Warrant signed, deliuered to the Handes of *Rowland Whyte*, who hathe verie painefully and discreetly travailled in his Busines for you; and therefore deserveth your verie good Opinion.'[98]

The last letter of Whyte is of 27 July 1626, and is to the second Earl of Leicester, son and heir of Sir Robert Sidney. Whyte's letter, written from Baynard's Castle, said he had come (to London, but he does not say from where) to see how the new king would dispose 'these Places spoken of'. The letter gives news of the new court, then speaks of the Countess of Leicester, Sir Robert Sidney's second wife and stepmother of the new earl. Whyte was in some doubt as to her state of health; if she 'fall away, as she hath don these late Dayes, she will not stay long

[96] Collins, II, 218; greatly altered and condensed in De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 488.
[97] Collins, II, 219; likewise greatly abbreviated in De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 489.
[98] Collins, II, 11.

after my Lord, your Father. *She hath setled her Estate; she hath giuen Meanes to erect a Monument for my Lord your Father, in Penshurst; she hath giuen your Lordship, your Lady, your Sisters, Legacies.* Soe to some of my Lord and her own Frendes, and to divers of my Lord your Fathers Servants. I stay here 3 or 4 Dayes longer, to see whither the King will bestow these Places spoken of.'[99] The letter is signed '*Your Lordships ancient Servant, R. Whyte.*' Whyte, however, was unduly alarmed for the health of the second countess, for she lived until 1655.[100]

I have no account of Whyte's death, which presumably took place in Wales. There is, however, a record of the burial within the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields of Rolandus Whight on 2 May 1632.[101] But this is probably the Rowland Whyte whose wife was Anne and whose children were buried in the church in the previous decade or the Rowland Whyte who was married in 1600 to Jane Bell. I am informed by the officials of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields that, when the present church was built in 1721–1726, the bodies buried there were reinterred elsewhere, so that no help is forthcoming from any surviving monument.

One may well wish that Whyte had referred to himself more often in his letters. But his loyalty and industry are everywhere apparent. Nor can there be any doubt that he was the sheet anchor of Sir Robert Sidney, and there is no way of calculating what Sir Robert's debt for his wise dealings must have been. Moreover, students of the Elizabethan era will remain grateful for Rowland Whyte's letters with their revealing accounts of the events and personages of the day.

Hunter College LISLE C. JOHN

[99] *Ibid.*, II, 369–370.

[100] Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, *s.v.* Leicester. The first Countess of Leicester died in 1621. Sir Robert Sidney, first Earl of Leicester, died in 1626, aged sixty-two. He had married again the same year.

[101] *Register of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1619–36* (London, 1936, Harleian Society, LXVI), p. 268.

Music and *The Mad Lover*

HILST musical imagery is to some extent resorted to in attempts by Elizabethan writers to define madness, the efficacy of music as sound is also sought for resolving the discord in man's microcosmos. Music's power over the emotions has been praised throughout all civilized ages. The best known example is, perhaps, Alexander who 'was sometimes excited by it so passionately, that he was forced almost against his will to leave the banquet table and rush to arms; and when the musician changed the temper of the tune, he grew calm again, lay aside his arms, and returned to the banquet table'.[1] Another stirring example is that of King Saul whose madness is spoken of as the result of possession by an evil spirit for his sins before God.

And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took an harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him.[2]

Music embodies all moods within itself, the Greeks categorizing its modes for all occasions, and if we can believe the report of the ancients the power of music to allay strife, friction, conflict, and discord is unquestionable. Plato argued for its use in instilling virtuous qualities in would-be citizens of *The Republic*, Castiglione for its powers for peace and right government in *The Courtier*, and Sir Thomas Elyot for like qualities in *The Gouernour*. Herein lies the strength of the Orphean legend. The music from Orpheus' lute recalled everything to that pristine state of peace and harmony in which the dull ears of men became unstopped and the heavenly music of the spheres could be heard.

[1] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (*Prose and Poetry of the Continental Renaissance in Translation*, ed. H. H. Blanchard, New York, 1949), p. 354. Treatises on music seem never to fail to describe the powerful effect of music on Alexander and Saul. The treatises were essentially imitative in this respect; nevertheless, the assumption holds good that they found no reason to disagree with the claims made for music's power by the ancients.

[2] 1 Samuel xvi, 23; see also 1 Samuel xviii, 10.

Orpheus with his Lute made Trees,
And the Mountaine tops that freeze,
Bow themselues when he did sing.
To his Musicke, Plants and Flowers
Euer sprung; as Sunne and Showers,
There had made a lasting Spring.
Euery thing that heard him play,
Euen the Billowes of the Sea,
Hung their heads, & then lay by.
In sweet Musicke is such Art,
Killing care, & griefe of heart,
Fall asleepe, or hearing dye.[3]

Fletcher's *Mad Lover* (1617) affords perhaps the most extensive example within a single play of the use of musical sound and imagery in the depiction and cure of madness. Since most of the music called for by the text printed in the folio of 1647 has survived, it is possible to reconstruct the effect of performance with exceptional precision.[4]

The mad lover is the general Memnon, a veteran of twenty-five years' service, who, returning to the court from a victorious campaign, falls in love at first sight with the young Princess Calis. The main plot of the play follows the bizarre course which the general's infatuation takes and the schemes by means of which his friends try to cure him of it. While in the climactic scene it is the extraordinary self-sacrifice of his brother Polydore that finally brings the general to his senses, the earlier attempts to restore his sanity mostly use the power of suggestion exerted by music, song, and pageantry. The chief agent of these attempts is the soldier Stremon, who has often entertained the general with martial songs and who, when he learns of the general's love-sickness, says (II.ii.86–88):

[3] *Henry VIII* III.i.3 ff. (folio text). The song is introduced by the following speech of the queen:

Take thy Lute wench,
My Soule growes sad with troubles,
Sing, and disperse 'em if thou canst: leaue working.

Music is not here being called for to restore harmony, for the king's actions have made this impossible for Queen Katherine, but its gentle soothing powers are sought to allay melancholy.

[4] For the musical settings of the songs of the play see John P. Cutts, *La Musique de scène de la troupe de Shakespeare* (Paris, 1959). The sources of these settings are specified pp. 154 ff.

If Musique,
Can find his madnes; ile so fiddle him,
That out it shall by'th shoulders.[5]

Memnon's derangement inclines him to the thought of suicide. During his first encounter with the princess he says (I.ii.87 ff.):

I have a heart Ladie . . .
I would you had it in your hand sweet Ladie
To see the truth it beares ye.

To this the princess, who speaks in the tone of banter throughout the scene, replies (I.ii.91 ff.):

Doe you give it. . . .
And you shall see I dare accept it Sir
Tak't in my hand and view it: if I finde it
A loving and a sweet heart as you call it
I am bound, I am.

'No more', says Memnon, 'Ile send it to ye', and this infatuated promise he attempts to carry out. In a later scene (III.iv) Polydore actually presents to the princess a cup purporting to contain his brother's heart as a ruse to engage the princess' interest.[6] (As might be expected in a Fletcher

[5] Quotations from *The Mad Lover* follow the text of the folio of 1647. The division into acts and scenes and the line-numbering are those of R. Warwick Bond's edition (1908, *Variorum Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. A. H. Bullen, III).

[6] During this scene the following lyric is read, according to the dialogue, to the princess:

Goe happy heart for thou shalt ly
Intomb'd in her for whom I dy
Example of her cruelty.

Tell her if she chance to chide
Me for slownes in her pride
That it was for her I died.

If a teare escape her eye
'Tis not for my memory
But thy rights of obsequy

The Altar was my loving brest
My heart the sacrificed beast
And I was my selfe the Preist

Your body was the sacred shrine
Your cruell mind the power divine
Pleas'd with hearts of men not kine

There is reason to suppose, however, that in the original performance these words were

play, it really has the effect of inspiring the princess with love of Polydore.) The principal musical antidote to Memnon's madness is administered in the fourth act. It has been reported (III.v.2–4) that

> h'as divers times
> Been calling upon *Orpheus* to appeare
> And shew the joyes:

i.e., the joys of lovers. There is, of course, this other side of the Orphean legend. Orpheus' music was thought to be the supreme aid to love, the means by which all Hell was rapt with wonder and Pluto sufficiently moved to let Eurydice go. It is this aspect that Memnon is thinking of. Stremon therefore impersonates Orpheus, but instead of showing the joys of lovers he describes in song 'the plagues of love'.

SONG.

Stre. *Orpheus I am,*[7] *come from the deep's below,*
To thee fond man the plagues of love to show:
To the faire fields where loves eternall dwell
Ther's none that come, but first they passe through hell:
Harke and beware, unlesse thou hast loved ever,
Beloved againe, thou shalt see those joyes never.

Hark how they graone [sic] *that dyed despairing,*
O take heed then:
Hark how they houle for over daring
All these were men.

They that be fooles, and dye for fame
They loose their name,
And they that bleed
Harke how they speed.

Now in cold frosts, now scorching fires,
They sit and curse their lost desires:
Nor shall these soules be free from paines and feares,
Till Women waft them over in their teares.

---

sung. A 'through'-setting by John Wilson, a King's musician responsible for some of the stage music of the King's men at this time, exists in several manuscripts containing stage music of this period (Bodleian MSS. Don. c. 57, f. 63v; Mus. b. 1, ff. 27v–28; Ch. Ch. Mus. 87, ff. 7v–8: Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 52D (Bull MS.), ff. 98v–99). In the Bull MS. it stands in close proximity of the original music for another song from *The Mad Lover*, 'Orpheus I am'. This manuscript also contains original music for *The Squires' Masque* (1614), *Valentinian* (1614), and *The Witch* (c. 1609), all in close proximity.

[7] This is the punctuation of F2; F1 reads 'Orpheus, I am'.

Orpheus' first-hand information on the pains and tortures undergone in Hades by lovers who have died for shame begins to have some effect on Memnon, clothed as it is in music's persuasion. The setting forcibly suggests groaning and despairing and the alternation of frosts and fires with their respective pains.[8] Another voice, a bass, joins Orpheus in the last line to enforce the song's meaning by means of a concerted chorus.[9] The music affords us a splendid example of English musical declamatory style feeling its way towards operatic recitative, and it is not without significance that the first performance of a masque sung throughout in the recitative style took place in 1617.[10]

Memnon has been musically told, by the only means effective in his state, that he will never be allowed to cross over Styx into Hades and live happily in the Elysian fields unless his love has been requited.[11]

[8] The clever use of rests before and after 'hark' lends greater insistency and urgency to the advice. The correspondences of down the scale for Hell, at the mention of crossing over, and of going up the scale at 'Come from the deep's below' help to give realistic seriousness to the warning.

[9] There is no indication of this in the text itself. But a bass singer is already present on the stage and later joins Stremon in the musical dialogue. Obviously it is he also who joins Stremon in the last-line chorus of this song.

[10] Ben Jonson's masque, *Lovers Made Men*, was presented 22 Feb. 1617 at Lord Hay's, 'And the whole Maske was sung (after the Italian manner) *Stylo recitativo*, by Master *Nicholas Lanier*; who ordered and made both the Scene, and the Musicke'. *The Vision of Delight* of the previous month had, however, set the precedent, an interesting specimen of the music of which has been brought to light. See John P. Cutts, 'Ben Jonson's Masque *The Vision of Delight*', *Notes & Queries* n.s. III (1956), 64–67.

[11] This is frequently a topic for lyrical outbursts in plays. Perhaps the best example occurs in May's *Old Couple* II:

Song.
This is not the Elysian Grove,
Nor can I meet my slaughter'd Love
Within these shades; come death, and be
At last as mercifull to me,
As in my dearest Scudmore's *fall,*
Thou shewd'st thyself tyrannical,
Then did I die, when he was slain:
But kill me now, I live again;
And shall go meet him in a grove,
Fairer then any here, above.

Oh! let this woful breath expire:
Why should I wish Evadne's *fire*
Sad Portia's *coals, or* Lucrece *knife,*
To rid me of a loathed life?

Memnon has understood the advice, but questions the certainty of the knowledge that his passage to the underworld is denied.

> *Mem.* How should I know my passage is deni'de me
> Or which of all the Devills dare[?]

His question is answered in a duet between Orpheus and Charon in which the latter denies passage over the Styx to 'those guilty spirits' 'That kill themselves for love'.

SONG.

Orph. *Charon o Charon*
Thou wafter of the soules to blisse or bane
Cha. *Who calls the Fery man of Hell?*
Or. *Come near*
And say who lives in joye, and whom [sic] *in feare.*
Cha. *Those that dye well; Eternall joy shall follow,*
Those that dye ill; their owne soule fate shall swallow,
Orph. *Shall thy black Bark those guilty spirits stow*
That kill themselves for love?
Cha. *O no no.*
My cordage crackes when such great sins are neare
No winde blowes faire, nor I my selfe can steare
Orph. *What lovers passe and in Elizium raigne?*
Cha. *Those gentle loves that are belov'd againe.*
Orph. *This Souldier Loves, and faine wood dye to win,*
Shall he goe on [sic]*?*
Cha. *No 'tis too foule a sin*
He must not come a boord: I dare not rowe,
Stormes of despaire, and guilty blood will blowe.
Orph. *Shall time release him, saye?*
Cha. *No, no, no no.*
Nor time nor death can alter us, nor prayer;

> *'Tis shame enough that grief alone,*
> *Kils me not now, when thou art gone.*
> *But life, since thou art slow to go,*
> *Ile punish thee for lasting so,*
> *And make thee piece-meal every day,*
> *Dissolve to tears and melt away.*

The idea of the bereaved lady's joining her lover in the Elysian Fields is inherited, of course, from the ancients as best expressed in the stories of Dido and Aeneas and Orpheus and Eurydice.

My boate is destinie, and who then dare
But those appointed come aboord? Live still,
And love by reason mortall not by will,
Or. *And when thy Mistris shall close up thine eyes*
Cha. *Then come a boord and passe,*[12]
Or. *Till when be wise*
Cha. *Till when be wise.*

The dialogue between Orpheus and Charon comes to life in its musical setting. Orpheus sings a supplicating tenor, evenly measured and sustained, and Charon a deep bass. There is earnestness in the very measured supplication of the tenor, which is almost recitative, and grim irony in the humor of the relentless bass of the god Charon with his power to ferry or stay. 'No, no, oh no' is forcefully brought out and the moral pointed that reason should once again assume her rightful dominion over will and passion, thereby resolving the conflict within Memnon and restoring harmony. The dialogue ends with Orpheus and Charon in chorus emphasizing their advice. The two songs produce a strong effect on Memnon.

Eumen. How still he sitts: I hope this Song has setled him
1. *Cap.* He bites his lipp, and rowles his fierce eyes yet
I feare for all this—

To reënforce his advice Stremon-Orpheus immediately produces 'a Maske of Beasts' illustrating the degeneration of lovers who do not 'love by reason' into animals and ending with the adjuration 'O love no more, O love no more'.

Or. The power I have over Beast and plant,
Thou man alone feelst miserable want *Music.*
Strike your rare Spirits that attend my will,
And loose your savage wildnesse by my skill.
Enter a Maske of Beasts.[13]
This Lion was a man of Warre that died,

[12] The text gives no indication of the chorus found for the last three lines in the music manuscript.

[13] This mixture—a dog, an ass, a lion, and a bush—shows the influence of the antimasque. Beaumont's *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* (1613) presented 'an Antimasque . . . not of one kinde or liverie (because that had been so much in use heretofore) but as it were in consort like to broken Musicke' (*The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. A. Glover and A. R. Waller, Cambridge, 1905–1912, x, 379). Antimasques had hitherto been uniform, for example all witches, all satyrs, all madmen, dressed in one livery, like

As thou wouldst doe to guild her Ladies pride
This Dog a foole that hung himselfe for love:
This Ape with daily hugging of a glove,
Forgot to eat and died. This goodly tree,
An usher that still grew before his Ladie,
Wither'd at roote. This, for he could not wooe,
A grumbling Lawyer: This pyed Bird a page,
That melted out because he wanted age.
Still[14] these lye houling on the stigian shore,
O love no more, o love no more.[15]

Exit Memnon.

The stage direction *Music* is important here, for Stremon must surely have declaimed these lines to soft music.[16] The whole passage seemed to me to be in the nature of a dramatic lyric and I searched diligently for a musical setting. The text, to be sure, gives no indication that any part of it was actually sung, and yet the existence of the last couplet in a music manuscript[17] scored to be sung by a tenor and a bass makes it possible that the whole passage was sung very much after the manner of a device used in *The Vision of Delight* in which Night, Peace, and Aurora each sing alone before being joined by the choir. Here Stremon declaimed the lines to the accompaniment of soft music and was joined by a bass voice in chorus for the last couplet, the last device having already operated for the two previous songs.

Memnon steals off silently as though he would sleep. The fire of his passion has burnt low, but has yet to be extinguished by the resurrection of that manly spirit, that 'man of Warre' which is his chief glory. This is accomplished in the last act (v.iv.43 ff.) when Stremon, at Memnon's request, sings 'the Battell of *Pelusium*' for the purpose of reviving his warlike spirit.

---

music played by a number of instruments of the same kind. The use of motley antimasques, like music in consort played by different instruments, originated in Beaumont's masque. The use of animals here is, of course, partly symbolical, signifying the untamed beasts of passion, the stubborn will of an ass, the fierceness of a lion.

14 The music manuscript has 'all' for 'Still'.

15 W. R. Bowden, *The English Dramatic Lyric, 1603–1642* (1951, Yale Stud. in English no. 118), does not list this as a dramatic lyric, but I think it ought to be considered as such since it was almost certainly declaimed to music.

16 Cf. 'the musick changed into a very solemne ayre, which they softly played, while *Orpheus* spake' in Campion's *Lords' Masque*, 1613 (*Works*, ed. P. Vivian, Oxford, 1909), p. 90. The word *spake* began at this time in masques to mean 'spake in music', as is evidenced by *The Vision of Delight*.

17 N. Y. P. L. Drexel MS. 4041 (Earl Ferrers MS.), f. 87^{v}.

Song.

Arme, arme, arme, arm, the Scouts are all come in,
Keepe your rankes close and now your honours win.
Behold from yonder hill, the foe appeares,
Bowes, bills glaves arrowes shields, and Speares,
Like a darke wood he comes, or tempest powring,
O view the wings of horse the meadows scowring,
The vant-guard marches bravely, hark the Drums—dub, dub,[18]
They meet they meet, now the Battell comes,
See how the Arrows fly
That darken all the skie,
Harke how the Trumpets sound,
Hark how the hills rebound,—Tara-tara-tara.
Hark how the horses charge: in boyes in boyes in,—tara, tara,
The Battell totters; now the wounds begin,
O how they cry,
O how they dy.
Roome for the valiant Memnon, *arm'd with thunder,*
See how he breakes the rankes asunder:
They fly they flie, Eumenes *has the Chace,*
And brave Polibius, *makes good his place.*
To the plaines, to the Woods,
To the Rocks, to the floods,
They fly for succour: Follow, follow, follow, Hey, hey.
Harke how the Souldiers hollow
Brave Diocles *is dead,*
And all his Souldiers fled,
The battell's won, and lost,
That many a life hath cost.

The 'Battell of *Pelusium*', a battle song such as Memnon used to delight in, brings the musical process full circle. It awakens Memnon's warlike spirit and, in his reasserted manliness, his mad love-humor is cured. The musical setting by Robert Johnson is astonishing. It is full of trumpet calls successfully given and subtly suggested, of battle noises, attack and retreat in defeat, of wounds and cries, and ends with a noble battle dirge for a valiant warrior killed. The 'rebounding' of the hills is musically envisaged as a trumpet call disguised.[19] The amount of detail

[18] Editors have pointed out that these 'expletives' are printed in the margin in roman type in both folios because, though they are part of the song, they are also stage-directions.

[19] The realism of this setting is extraordinary, as is that of most of Johnson's stage music (exclusively for the King's men), whether it be the bell effects in the *Tempest* songs, the

revealed by the setting is most illuminating of the extent to which realism in music was carried on the stage.

Music wrought Alexander to deeds of empire: Memnon is similarly wrought to victory over his own mental enemy and spurred to victory in the field for king and country. The stages of his cure from madness are carefully worked out as means to the desired end. The first song ('Goe happy heart') implies the excessiveness of his madness, the second ('Orpheus I am') points out the misery attendant upon pursuing it and upon going to Hades as a suicide for love, the third ('Charon O Charon') and the masque point out where lies relief from the besetting madness, and the fourth song ('Arm, arm') replaces madness with that nobility of warlike prowess which had held sway before madness robbed him of his manliness. The psychological process is fairly subtle even when laid bare in such easy stages, but the musical treatment is most subtly and skillfully maneuvered.

The music score also makes it possible to clear up something of a misunderstanding of the text of the play. On his first appearance (II.ii.20) Stremon is accompanied by a boy who is clearly described as his assistant in singing. The folio stage-direction reads: '*Enter Stremon and his Boy Ed. Hor.*' This appears to be a reference to Edward Horton, known, from the list of actors in Carlell's *Deserving Favorite*, to have been a member of the King's men in 1629. G. E. Bentley speaks of him thus:

Horton's one known role of any size, that of Mariana in *The Deserving Favorite*, is too nondescript to tell us anything about him, but his appearance in the stage directions of *The Mad Lover* indicates that he was a singing boy and small at the time of the revival from which the stage prompter's directions seem to date. The lines following the entrance in which his name occurs indicate that Stremon and his boy are well known musicians, and the boy is addressed, 'And how does small Tim Treble here, the heart on't?' Apparently the boy Horton sang the part of Charon to Stremon's Orpheus in the entertainment in IV.i, as Weber pointed out in his edition of the play. According to the stage directions of the folio, Stremon enters alone as Orpheus, but his two-part song requires a singer for Charon's part, and the introduction of the boy as a singer

---

suggestion of mental derangement in the madmen's song in *The Duchess of Malfi*, ghostliness in 'Myn Ost's Song' in *The Lovers Progress*, or the evocation of the melancholy sadness of distressed lovers in several plays. His approach to the dramatic lyric seems always to have been vigorous and fresh, and rhythmic experimentation suggested by word and speech rhythms is a distinguishing feature of his work. See John P. Cutts, 'Robert Johnson, King's Musician', *Music & Letters* XXXVI (1955), 110–125.

earlier in the play makes it fairly obvious that he has simply been omitted from the stage direction in Act IV.[20]

But the stage-direction at the beginning of IV.i reads: '*Enter a Servant and R. Bax, and Stremon at the doore*'. 'R. Bax' might therefore be Stremon's singing partner, as has been inferred by Bond, in his edition of the play, and indeed by Professor Bentley himself in another place (p. 362): 'Apparently he [Richard Baxter] sings Charon's lines in a two-part song with Stremon.' 'R. Bax' is uniformly identified as Richard Baxter, a hired actor who was born in 1593, joined Queen Anne's company at the Red Bull about 1605–1606, and later, probably in 1623, transferred his services to the King's men.[21] In his discussion of Baxter's career Professor Bentley says: 'He [Baxter] is sometimes said to have played Stremon's boy in *The Mad Lover*, but he was far too old for a boy's role in 1630. It is more likely that he played the servant. The compositor no doubt thought the bookholder's note of the actor's name an insertion and added the "and".'[22] Thus Professor Bentley by implication again assigns the rôle of Charon to Edward Horton.

The music score, however, makes it absolutely clear that the part of Charon was sung by a bass voice and a deep bass voice at that, not by a 'Tym Treble'. Edward Horton's name thus has not simply been omitted from the stage direction in Act IV. 'R. Bax' is specifically mentioned as accompanying Stremon and it is certainly he who sings Charon. A bass voice is essential.

I am at a loss to understand how commentators and editors in the first place could seriously have considered that a boy singing treble could impersonate Charon. From a consideration of musical imagery alone it ought to have been understood that music rises in the scale when heaven and its glorious attributes are suggested and invoked, and descends at the thought of the underworld, death, and the grave. The Elizabethan convention is perhaps best stated by Morley:

> . . . if the subject be light, you must cause your musicke go in motions, which carrie with them a celeritie or quicknesse of time, as minimes, crotchets and quauers: if it be lamentable, the note must goe in slow and heauie motions, as semibreues, breues and such like. . . . Moreouer, you must haue a care that when your matter signifieth ascending, high heauen, and such like, you make your musicke ascend: and by the contrarie

[20] *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage* (Oxford, 1941), II, 479.

[21] *Believe as you list*, ed. C. J. Sisson (1928, Malone Soc. Reprints), p. xxxiii.

[22] II, 360–361.

where your dittie speaketh of descending lowenes, depth, hell, and others such, you must make your musicke descend, for as it will be thought a great absurditie to talke of heauen and point downwarde to the earth: so will it be counted great incongruitie if a musician vpon the wordes hee ascended into heauen shoulde cause his musicke descend, or by the contrarie vpon the descension should cause his musicke to ascend.[23]

The madrigals abound with examples of the skillful use of this convention. Consider especially Weelkes' 'As Vesta was from Latmos hill descending' and Farmer's 'Fair Phyllis I saw sitting all alone'.

Orpheus belonging to the upper world naturally sings tenor: Charon, a denizen of Hades and one of its archrulers, would naturally be sung by a bass. The same pattern is repeated in several Orpheus-Charon dialogues which are extant in unpublished music manuscripts.

While it is clear that Richard Baxter is a better choice for the part of Charon than Edward Horton, the fact remains that Baxter is not known to have been a singer and another possibility suggests itself. The musical setting of 'Charon o Charon' was composed by Richard Balls (Ball, Balles), a Prince's musician, who is mentioned in a lawsuit after his death in 1622 as having been employed in his musical capacity at the Blackfriars theater.[24] If he died before 1622, his music clearly belongs to the original performance of the play. That he was also a singer appears from his being paid £2 for singing in Chapman's *Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn* (1613).[25] If Balls actually sang the part of Charon and his name was noted by the prompter in the book of the play, the printers of the 1647 folio might have misread it as 'R. Bax', for double 'l' and 'x' are much alike in some Elizabethan hands.[26] The eligibility of Balls for the part of Charon is obviously superior to that of Baxter. The difficulty with casting Balls as Charon is the date of the performance for which the prompter's notes in the folio were made. Presumably they imply that 'Ed. Hor.' and 'R. Bax' appeared in the same performance. But Balls could not have sung Charon's part in a performance much later than the earliest in 1617, while if Horton was playing girls' parts in 1629 it is a question whether he was old enough to appear as Stremon's boy in the earliest performances of the play. Baxter there-

[23] *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597), p. 178.

[24] *La Musique de scène de la troupe de Shakespeare*, appendix B.

[25] *Records of Lincoln's Inn, 1586–1660*, ed. J. Douglas-Walker (London, 1897–1902), II, 154.

[26] Cf., e.g., the double 'l' reproduced by S. A. Tannenbaum, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance* (N. Y., 1930) on p. 53 (no. 11) and the 'x' on p. 84 (no. 10).

fore cannot be confidently eliminated even though Balls seems, as long as he lived, a better choice for the part.

It is fortunate that it has been possible to bring to light practically the whole of the original music for this play. Hitherto only the setting of 'Goe happy heart' was known to be extant, and in circumstances which gave no promise of its being the original one. The original music includes a song and incidental music for the temple scene in the last act, in which other elements of the plot are worked out and Memnon does not appear; it has therefore not been commented on in this paper. *The Mad Lover* must surely be considered now as our first musical drama for which music planned in bulk is extant in anything approaching completeness. We now know more of the music of *The Mad Lover* than of that of any other play until later Caroline times; indeed, of only a few masques has a more complete musical score survived, most of this music being far less dramatic than that of *The Mad Lover*. The extensive use of music in the treatment of madness in *The Mad Lover* is nowhere paralleled before 1617. Fletcher was certainly carrying drama with music forward by bold steps. Purcell's *Bonduca* seems less distant than it has been thought to be.

University of Oklahoma JOHN P. CUTTS

Sacred 'Parody' of Love Poetry, and Herbert

OME conceptions held by Herbert and his predecessors of the relations between sacred and profane love poetry are the matter at issue in this essay—yet it is particularly directed to the attention of two kinds of special students not likely to be especially interested in that issue. I wish it might be read by those who know unpublished Renaissance music, and those who work with semantics and early dictionaries in various European languages. It is written with the hope that some one else may run across an unfound musical setting, and that some one else may adduce earlier uses of a puzzling word. Its main concern, however, is to present certain materials and ideas of rather broader interest to students of Renaissance poetry.

Herbert gave the title 'A Parodie' to a poem addressed to God, beginning:

Souls joy, when thou art gone,
And I alone,
Which cannot be,
Because thou dost abide with me,
And I depend on thee;

Yet when thou dost suppresse
The cheerfulnesse
Of thy abode,
And in my powers not stirre abroad,
But leave me to my load:

O what a damp and shade
Doth me invade! . . .

Prof. William Dinneen of Brown University has given musical assistance to the author, who would like to acknowledge this debt and thank him, without implicating him in the errors or omissions which very probably remain in a field where the writer can claim no special competence. A similar gratitude is due to Miss Nancy Donohue and Dr. F. W. Sternfeld for the helps and suggestions whose incorporation they will recognize.

He has imitated a secular lyric addressed by one lover to another and early attributed to Donne,[1] as recent editors of both poets have observed. Another attribution, to William, third earl of Pembroke, is that preferred by Grierson, and I shall call the original piece 'Pembroke's poem' to save awkward reiteration.[2] It begins:

Soules joy, now I am gone,
And you alone,
(Which cannot be,
Since I must leave my selfe with thee,
And carry thee with me)
Yet when unto our eyes
Absence denyes
Each others sight,
And makes to us a constant night,
When others change to light;
O give no way to griefe,
But let beliefe . . .

But Herbert's title will not bear the meaning which the word *parody* has in seventeenth-century dictionaries of the learned or vernacular tongues, nor does it square with Latin or Greek or English or French usage of the word in literary contexts. These, like our own use of the word, stress the element of mockery, burlesque, or at the least some sidelong denigrating comment on the original author's sense; some-

[1] Herbert's model was printed by Grierson among poems attributed to Donne, in *The Poetical Works* (Oxford, 1912), I, 429, with the heading '*Song*. Probably by the Earl of Pembroke'. Herbert's poem begins on p. 183 of F. E. Hutchinson's edition of *The Works* (Oxford, 1941).

[2] Chambers thinks it Donne's. No more than did Hutchinson do I venture a sure attribution, not having access to all relevant data, but Chambers' arguments are not of a kind to convince us unless there is a clear case on other grounds for denying the poem to Pembroke. It is printed as Donne's in editions 1635 through 1669 (see Grierson, II, cxxxv), is not in 1633, but is in the important O'Flaherty MS. (see *Divine Poems*, ed. H. Gardner, p. lxxi on the character of *O'F*). Because the Dobell MS. at Harvard (Engl. 966.4) was not used by Grierson, nor, I believe, Engl. 966.7 (formerly Norton 4620*), I examined—without finding 'Soules joy' in any of them—these and other Harvard manuscripts containing or ascribing poems to Donne: Engl. 626 F* (formerly Phillipps 13187), Engl. 966 (with Coleridge notes), Engl. 966.2 (eighteenth-century copy from *O'F*), as well as Stephens, Carnaby, the newly acquired Gell Commonplace Book, and Engl. 686, a commonplace book formerly Phillipps 9235. The poem's ascription to Pembroke depends upon Lansdowne 777 and on its appearance (labelled 'P.') in *Poems* by Pembroke and Sir Benjamin Ruddier, ed. by Donne the younger (London, 1660); it appears without ascription in Stowe 962.

thing on the order of Ben Jonson's 'a *Parodie*! a *parodie*! . . . to make it absurder then it was' (*Every Man in his Humour*, V.v.26), or on the order of N. Pasquier's 'parodier, parodiant' in a violently polemical letter answering a detractor of his father's who had written scurrilously, and scoffing at that user of these words. For an actual dictionary definition, the early English-only dictionaries do not provide us with evidence (see below note 9). The earliest citation in von Wartburg's *Wörterbuch*[3] of the French substantive, 1614, confirms the meaning of 'travestissement burlesque', and when we consult, *faute de mieux*, the later seventeenth-century French dictionaries—Furetière, Richelet—we find the same elements of 'raillerie' or burlesquing of 'ouvrages serieux'.[4]

Its derivation in modern tongues from Greek παρωδία, probably by way of Latin *parodia*, is agreed upon in the historical dictionaries. The word in classical Greek apparently kept to the kind of connotations just given (see Liddell and Scott); and in sum the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*'s articles on *Parody: Greek* and *:Latin* seem to cover the matter: exaggeration and incongruity (often through the use of high language for trivial things) are essential elements, and examples show that what we might call a 'take-off' is the root idea, whereas exaggeration to bring out 'salient features of an individual's style . . . was seldom attempted by the Greeks'; while in Latin usage we find both pastiche ('caricature of manner without adhering to the original words') and parody proper, in which 'distortion' of an original with but few verbal changes provides a new sense 'often incongruous with the form'.

Not any of these descriptions accurately describe the relation Herbert's poem bears to its original, though he has declared the relation to be that of 'A Parodie'. Obviously he is not mocking Lord Pembroke's poem in any usual way, nor caricaturing its manner, nor distorting or exaggerating its sense, with a view to the humor or irony of an incongruity we are expected to notice either in his original or in his imitation.

[3] *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* VII (Basel, 1953). The Pasquier use of the verb is given the date c. 1580 (cited in von Wartburg, Hatzfeld-Darmsteter, *admis* Academy 1718); I used the 1723 *Oeuvres*, where the passage—in the long *Lett.* x. 5—may be found in col. 1422. In *The Optick Glasse of Humors* (London, 1607), p. 35, T. W. clearly intends a travesty when he prefaces Latin lines on the sad effects of surfeit with 'all which in a parode, imitating *Virgil* we may set downe'.

[4] Though obviously used in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the word is not in Cotgrave (1632 or 1673), not in Nicot's *Thresor* (1606), or in Monet's French-Latin *Inventaire* (1636) or in Miège's French-English one (1679), and is not listed in Cayrou's *Français classique*. Incidentally, the Spanish equivalent is not in Covarrubias, 1611 (with add., 1674; ed. Martín de Riquer, Barcelona, 1943).

To explain the anomaly of the title, Herbert's editor Hutchinson offers Dryden's definition of parody in the 'Discourse concerning . . . Satire' in the *Juvenal* (1693). This is repeated by L. L. Martz, when in an extended treatment of 'Herbert's art of sacred parody' he adds that the poet's title is an illustration of 'this neutral usage' as defined in Dryden.[5] But quite aside from the two-thirds-of-a-century gap in time, an examination of Dryden's context shows that if Herbert were neutral after Dryden's fashion, his so-called neutrality would be what Dryden finds in 'songs, which are turned into burlesque, and the serious words of the author perverted into a ridiculous meaning'. Herbert scarcely intended such an effect when he so turned Pembroke's phrases that they decorously suit an address to God, and Dryden's other example of Ausonius' joke on the modest Virgil is quite as malapropos. For Dryden's definition and usage are neither one neutral; he is discussing the satyric *silli*, 'full of parodies', of scoffing and petulancy and invective. And Herbert is not doing any of the things Dryden describes.[6]

So far as I can discover, in seventeenth-century literary usage, if an imitation of a poem was 'parody', it was not neutral. The vital point here is whether or not we can take Herbert's title as proof that he has intended a series of sidewise derogatory comments on the ideas and theme of Pembroke's poem. The answer is of some moment, in our whole understanding of Herbert's attitude toward sacred and profane love. Neither do I know (some one else may) *examples* of such subtly covert literary parodying, that is, of imitations neither burlesque nor yet truly innocent, which would furnish evidence of a *practice*—however silent the dictionaries are—that could be responsible for Herbert's title. There are examples in plenty of something close to this: for there is another reason than raillery, or mockery of a style, for writing sacred imitations of secular poems—substitution. Both scholars I have mentioned claim it as part of Herbert's intention. Shoals of poems were written in

[5] *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven, 1954), p. 186 n.; this is a note to the statement that 'Sacred parody of love-poetry plays *an essential part* in much of Herbert's best work' —a preoccupation which points the way to 'a fundamental relation' between him and Southwell (my italics).

[6] The extracted and supposedly 'neutral' clause is: 'Verses patched up from great poets, and turned into another sense than their author intended them' (*Essays*, ed. Ker, II, 52). But this contains the same element which prevents all the other definitions from explaining Herbert's 'neutral' use—that the imitator's eye is primarily fixed on the sense and intent of the original author, upon which his imitation *constitutes a comment*. Travesty, which, it is universally agreed, is not present in Herbert, is but the extreme form of this. The issue is whether Herbert's attention is not otherwise engaged.

Europe with this intent, before and just after Herbert. Was he in truth following in the path of 'Southwell's campaign to convert the poetry of profane love into poetry of divine love'? (Martz, p. 184). If so, Herbert's use of the word *parody* is no more innocent than would be the case if his poem exhibited the constant mocking parallelism of travesty or burlesque; no attitude toward another man's work is much less neutral than an intention to displace it entirely.

An interest in this displacement of the profane by the sacred has been widely accepted in modern times as a prime motivation for much of Herbert's writing of religious poems, and few are the treatments of him which do not mention the tensions which thence accrue, especially if the poet is thought to be not quite ready, himself, to make the substitution of one love for another. It is not impossible that this is a peculiarly subtle form of the fallacy of attributing a certain character to poems in order that they should suit with an intention which we would find psychologically interesting in their author. Their purport and bent is deduced from an assumed intention, whereas criticism properly uses the latter rather as a hint to try out hypotheses about meanings. We can never know the answers to such questions with certainty, but we can look for evidence. If we look first at the poem in hand, we find that the seemingly tendentious title stands almost alone as proof. (The text of both poems is given at page 279.)

Herbert seems to drop anything we could call a paralleling of ideas concerning profane and divine love after the first stanza or so. Lord Pembroke's poem is a forthright secular love lyric concerning the powerlessness of absence over true love. But Herbert's is not even 'a sacred love poem' except in so far as any poem about man's relation to God is a poem about love. There is no indication that he disbelieves what Pembroke says about absence being for mutually true human lovers a wound only sense-deep (whether we read Pembroke as serious or as over-easy); nor is there any comparison between Pembroke's human lovers and God who is by definition always spiritually present (a foolish comparison). He neither says nor implies anything about the validity of Pembroke's different kind of claim; it is simply clear that this statement about absence and mutual human love was a point of departure for his thoughts about the damps and cold which invade him when God's light seems to be eclipsed. He leaves quite behind him the ideas about love, over against which modern interpreters say he intended to set a sacred parody on a parallel theme, to consider instead the

treachery with which his sinful lying mind denies the constant abiding presence of God. Editors of course have perceived his departure from his model, but nevertheless both Grierson (II, 267) and Hutchinson (like Martz later) attribute to Herbert the 'aim' or 'intention' of turning the muse 'from profane love verses to sacred purposes', meanwhile commenting that the parody does not extend beyond the opening lines.

This, however, is untrue. There is a parallelism between the two poems extending throughout their length, but it is not conceptual, and I think had little to do—in origin or intention or effect—with 'turning' another poet's sense and thus obliquely commenting thereon, or with the intention of substituting good loves for bad by displacing naughty verses.

One kind of *parody* really did include a neutral relation of imitation to original. The first meaning in Hatzfeld-Darmsteter is: 'couplets composés sur un air connu'; recurring in the eighteenth-century Academy dictionaries, and familiar from Littré, this common musicological term, in several European languages, for an ancient practice is hard to date precisely. In Apel's article in the *Harvard Dictionary of Music* the term's use, earlier, to denote simply 'replacement of text for a known tune' is explicitly distinguished from later musical usage with a necessary connotation of caricature. Herbert may have confused the early practice (*contrafactum*) with parody, as others did; moreover we must remember that the seventeenth century used many musical terms with more flexibility than do modern scholars. The really often-met early musical use is the related one in *missa 'parodia'*; the great number of parody masses, and their great beauty, may quite possibly have been known to Herbert. He was a musician of such competence as to elicit contemporary remark even in days when such abilities and tastes were common, certainly among men of his kind of family,[7] education, and pursuits, and his special zeal for ecclesiastical music is common knowledge, as are Walton's references to his composing and his bi-weekly rides into Salisbury to sing after services in a 'private Musick-meeting'. That cathedral's

[7] His brother Edward, baron Herbert of Cherbury bequeathed his lutes and viols to his daughter-in-law, the sister of the Lady of *Comus*; in 1626 this Mary Egerton married Richard (later second Baron of Cherbury), and their son Edward was Lord Edward's favorite; with her sister Alice she received the dedication of Lawes' handsome 1653 publication. The much-travelled Lord Edward also was interested in the Roman liturgy, as remaining books of his show, and on his personal collection (largely in his hand) of lute music and his compositions (now in the Fitzwilliam), see T. Dart, 'Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Lute-book', *Music & Letters* XXXVIII (1957), 136–148.

music and roster of singing-men had its ups and downs, but its not undistinguished annals show us during Herbert's time names like Thomas Lawes, the father of the two brother composers, Francis Sambrooke, and Giles Tomkins of the Cambridge and west-country musical family; and Herbert knew the music both of Cambridge and the court. The longish development of parody masses came to its peak just before Herbert's lifetime; his liturgical sympathies make it the less likely that he was ignorant of them, and their very names, unmistakably references to secular originals, advertise their character; moreover other works show that England did know the parody technique. The older and simpler phenomenon of musical parody mentioned first in this paragraph, was yet more everyday, whatever a gentleman musician of the 1620s called it.

It is properest to think first about this simpler musical kind of parody (whatever the term), the supplanting of a text set to music by fitting the melody to new words. In the edition of Pembroke's and Ruddier's poems wherein the original 'Soules joy' is printed, headed '*Song*. P.' (i.e. by the Earl of Pembroke), the younger Donne's prefatory remarks 'To the Reader' run thus:

> In the collecting of these poemes (which were chiefly preserved by the greatest Masters of Musick, all the Sonnets being set by them) I was fain to send to Mr Henry Laws, who furnishing me with some, directed me for the rest, to send into Germany to Mr Laneere, who by his great skill gave a life and harmony to all that he set.

Surely it seems very likely that there existed a musical setting for William Herbert's 'Soules joy, now I am gone', to which music George Herbert his cousin, who knew him and frequented his household, composed the new set of religious words in 'Souls joy, when thou art gone' —in strict accordance with the musical usage noted above for 'a parodie'.

I cannot find out exactly when this term came to be applied to this habit. The inclusion of special uses is not to be counted on in early dictionaries, and the absence from them of this sole use showing the 'neutrality' which would best explain Herbert's own use does not mean much more than the absence of the word itself from so many of them. As I have pointed out, known occurrences (as in Jonson), literary practice, and gradual dictionary appearance with the 'burlesque' meaning show this to have been its *literary* connotation. The commonly known musical treatises in English[8] do not treat the term or the habit, and

[8] Treatises of sufficient circulation to find place in musical histories or books on the

roughly contemporary English dictionaries (Cooper, Bullokar, Blount, Phillips) are of small use on the whole matter.[9]

If it is hard to run down the earliest date for use of the *term* 'parody', for new words framed to a melody, it is certainly not hard to find hosts of examples. One important point is that as soon as the element of music is involved in the imitation the pleasure becomes far less dependent upon mockery or 'showing up'. Strictly formal imitation pleases. Common sense observes also that sung 'parodies' are less likely to show ironic, refined, or thoughtful oblique commentary on the ideas in an original text than those written to be read. Quite aside from the added formal hurdles to be cleared by an imitator, there is not time for either a singer or his auditors to catch esoteric relationships between two *texts*, only one of which can be present to the ear. The main source of the pleasure and interest lies elsewhere. Indeed one has only to sing successively Marlowe's, Ralegh's, and Donne's words to the tune for 'Come live with

---

relations between poetry and music (such as B. Pattison's *Music and Poetry of the Renaissance*, London, 1948; C. Ing's *Elizabethan Lyrics*, London, 1951; M. C. Boyd's *Elizabethan Music and Music Criticism*, Philadelphia, 1940). Grove's *Dictionary of Music* (5th ed., ed. E. Blom) treats only *missa parodia*, but Apel in *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* gives both, implying that the simpler use of the term is earlier. The usual definition cited is from Rousseau (1768). There is considerable information to the purpose in F. W. Sternfeld, *Goethe and Music: a List of Parodies* (N. Y., 1954, also in *Bull. N. Y. Publ. Libr.* LIV, 1950; especially p. 108 on derivation, and numerous examples later seen to be pertinent, e.g. no. 9, no. 52, *et al.*).

[9] The likeliest ones lack the word *parody*: Cooper, 1578 (thus covering Elyot); Cotgrave, 1632 and 1673; Bullokar, 1641; Blount, 1656; Edward Phillips, 1658 (I give the date of the copy consulted, and omit precise titles, which may be found in Starnes and Noyes, *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson*, Chapel Hill, 1946). Only late editions of Rider-Holyoke were seen, but in both 1639 and 1640 *parodia* occurs in the Latin list only, defined as 'a turning of a verse into another signification by altering of some few words'. Yet both *NED* citations and the French dictionaries show the vernacular word to have been in use despite neglect of it by English lexicographers.

Of course country or language makes no difference when it comes to the musical use; what I hope some one will add to this information is precisely when, in any of the used tongues, this meaning of composing new words to a known air (usually employing a few of the original's phrases) could receive a first citation under the term *parody*. Herbert is not given to coinages. To be sure, the link, or the confusion, is all but made by the commonness of the practice itself plus the used term *missa 'parodia'*. G. Reese's first citation of the latter *term* is 1587 (*Music in the Renaissance*, N. Y., 1959, p. 202). The indication by frequent inverted commas that I refer to *practices* by the use of *terms* which may have arisen later becomes so awkward that I must beg the reader to observe my reservations on this point and apply them himself as he reads.

me and be my love' which Chappell gives,[10] and many of the fastidious comparisons between those much-discussed poems will explode and disappear. The Elizabethan and Jacobean habit of writing vastly different lyrics to be sung to the one air should temper some of our too-meticulous claims about the intended strategies touching the 'tone' of this or that poem—unless music has naught to do with mood. And if any persons at Wilton, or a mile and a half away at Bemerton, heard both poems beginning 'Souls joy' sung to one setting, it is difficult to believe that their reactions would indeed have had the character of serious responses to a serious attempt to supplant profane loves with divine and turn the devices of secular art to better because more pious uses.[11]

That there were such serious attempts is of course questionless. There is a truly huge corpus of 'parodies' in the sense we are examining which are not 'neutral' imitations of their originals in the way I think Herbert's was of his. There was indeed a time when men systematically transposed great numbers of secular songs into spiritual ones as a deliberate move in a campaign of substitution—but the great flowering time for this phenomenon was the time of Luther and of Marot and of Bourgeois. It may quite well be that with Southwell's 'Epistle Dedicatorie' 'the aesthetic of the Counter Reformation establishes itself on English soil'.[12] But as far as this special element—the diverting of men's minds from profane to sacred poetry by using the former's arts—is concerned, the aesthetic was shared by individuals of a considerably different color of thought, and if such a zeal is to distinguish for us a tradition running from Southwell through Herbert to Vaughan, we shall have to bear with the awkward results of the fact that the tradition and the aesthetic are attached at the farther end to (for example) Coverdale or *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis* and the immediate circles of both Calvin and Luther. An aesthetic which is uncompromisingly 'Reformation' before it is 'Counter Reformation' is likely to be imputed to Herbert with considerably less ardor. These

[10] *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (London, 1859), I, 215; an earlier tune, printed 1612. In various examples which follow, I do not attempt research into the historical accuracy of matters like 'original tune', 'first setting', and the like—not my affair here, and not relevant to my points so long as chronological limits and possibilities are regarded.

[11] This is quite simply not what one hears when one listens. There is no reason to disbelieve the claim that Herbert set songs to music of his own composing, and sang them. This habitual exercise puts a different complexion on his probable interest and pleasure in the musician's form of parodying, as well as his skill and interest in what that requires of the writer of song-texts.

[12] See Martz, *op. cit.*, pp. 184–185, and following.

ideas and the practice of 'sacred parody' with substitution as an aim[13] can have been no news to the England of the 1590s, though the ferment and excitement of concerted efforts in this direction had been continental.

It is well known that Luther and his immediate followers took the music for their hymns from wherever they could lay hand upon songs known to the people; since the fairly restricted number of thoroughly familiar melodies for Latin hymns, adaptable for congregational singing, could not take care of the tremendous output of vernacular compositions, they used secular tunes, popular melodies, as well as the modified liturgical chants and extant hymns Latin and German. In countries where Puritanism was to be strong, and in the history of the Huguenot psalter and its descendants and translations, we encounter as a declared purpose in prefaces the intention of substituting sacred songs for ribald or frivolous ones,[14] stated in terms often resembling Southwell's. Singing was as well recognized a means of spreading the ideas and the renewed devotional fervor of the reformers as was preaching; the virtue of the borrowed secular melodies was that they were well known and singable, and new words framed to them sprang up in a huge and fertile crop. The far from neutral intention—substitution of sacred lyrics for secular—of *such* 'parodies' is directly attached to the governing purpose of the men who wrote them: the reforming of a faith. A similar intention has much to do with the later efflorescence of a similar practice among authors of the Counter Reformation. This is shared by a South-

[13] It is said by Martz to have 'remained central to Herbert's poetry' from the time of his two sonnets written at 17 (Hutchinson, p. 206) until the time he refers to his grey hair in 'The Forerunners'. I see in the former typically youthful and jejune conceptions of both kinds of love (and both kinds of poetry), which Herbert certainly replaced with profound and humble ideas. I should think he must have turned—much as we do—an eye of mirth upon these fiery and arrogant compositions as he rejected them for his *Temple*.

[14] The tunes meanwhile being flatly taken over from the frivolous songs; see O. Douen, *Clément Marot et le psautier huguenot* (Paris, 1878), II, 363 for, e.g., Calvin's preface to Marot's psalter (1543 preface in English in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, N. Y., 1950, pp. 345–348). The emphasis is less usual in Lutheran materials. Coverdale, in his *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes*, says to his book: 'Geve them occasyon' to 'thrust under the borde | All other ballettes of fylthynes', and to the Christian reader: 'would God our minstrels' had nothing else to play and our ploughmen nothing to whistle 'save psalms, hymns, and godly songs' like David's; he adds a sharp reference to women who as they spin can sing nothing but *hey nony nony*, *hey troly loly*, and more in like vein (*Remains*, Cambridge, 1846, Parker Soc. XIV, pp. 534, 537). On the other hand, it is obvious that such motives did not dictate publication of all the 'pieuses alouettes' and 'rossignols spirituels', using *airs mondains*, which became popular (see Douen, I, 689). The mere practice of 'parody' does not tell us an author's motive.

well, but only very little if at all by a Herbert. In case we are determined to find such substitution so important to his poetry, I suppose that we might conceivably attribute to him a general aim touching the improvement of men's moral sensibilities, but Herbert was not concerned to remake the faith of Anglicans. His own attachment to that communion was serene. Convinced 'sacred parodists' anxious about the substitution of the sacred, to the best of my knowledge, have either such reformers' aims or else the narrowly moral fervor of puritanical piety, Catholic or Protestant. Herbert's religious verse smacks of neither.

It is not that the reformers had gone about to do any new thing; musically, the procedure had been common practice for some centuries. What they did was to use a musical practice to fulfill intentions they had as religious leaders; the intention does not inhere in the practice and we cannot use the latter to support guesses about Herbert's intentions. The writers of medieval *contrafacta* and the numerous composers who had built sacred motets for liturgical use on secular *chanson* themes did not intend either to kill the *chansons* or wake the people to a 'Reformation'. It seems to me just as difficult to believe that Herbert wished oblivion to overtake Lord Pembroke's innocent small song, and although to be sure he grieved over the way men wilfully allow their worldly loves to usurp all place in hearts that should turn even through those to the source of all love, it is a grief he shares with all serious Christian thinkers. This is not to be cured by a substitution; the Country Parson would perhaps have spoken rather of putting on Christ. It is a different thing from cutting out secular songs, or human love. Those who are ready to whip human love out of the heart are commonly very sensitive to the idea of an ineradicable incongruity between earthly and heavenly loves. We must ask for a considerable body of evidence before we attribute this, either, to Herbert.

When it comes to the presence or absence of self-consciousness or tension concerning the use of secular models, the 'spiritualizing' of secular songs during the mid- and later 1500s shows an especial likeness to the medieval practice of *contrafactum* which preceded it; the likeness is shared by the already prominent somewhat different technique of the *missa parodia*. For in them all it is apparent that the *musical* part of the imitation was truly felt as neutral. The term *contrafactum* refers to a vocal composition framed to a new text which is substituted for the old one, and although the setting of a new sacred text to existing secular melodies is common, the replacement can go either way, trouvère

chansons being fashioned for example upon liturgical plainsong melodies.[15] Neither in this medieval conversion of secular music to religious use, nor in the closely similar widespread sixteenth-century practice which provided the large literature of Protestant hymns and influenced the psalmody of Huguenot countries and others, nor in the *cantus firmus* mass which resembles *contrafactum* (in that a monodic borrowing, often from a secular *chanson*, provides the tenor) do we find any nervous indication that incongruousness was felt between *the known* secular provenance and the new religious use. The singers knew both uses, and listeners are very generally expected to recognize the secular originals; their attached names usually serve as identifying titles, or as indications of what tune to sing to, where songs are printed without music. And in *cantus firmus* masses and motets portions of older secular text show how the musical structure was contrived and were evidently sung by some of the voices. Like florid descant, this confusion of texts (*of two sacred texts as well*) was felt to be an evil, and both were censured at various times during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; Pope John's famous bull is primarily concerned with purely musical decorum, but confusion of texts was prohibited at the Council of Trent, in 1562.[16]

Sir Richard Terry's claim that 'in the sixteenth century the sharp line of demarcation between "sacred" and "secular" music did not exist'[17]

[15] See G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (N.Y., 1940), p. 218, one example the drinking song set to the Christmas sequence *Laetabundus*; note also his point on p. 219 concerning the importance, to interpretation, of knowing both music and words, and cf. below pp. 274–275. But the volume of 'spiritual' parodies is truly vast; K. Hennig (*Die geistliche Kontrafaktur im Jrh. der Reformation*, Halle, 1909) calls the sixteenth century the *Blütezeit* for the writing of sacred songs on secular models (using both words and tune), throughout Germany, and not only by the reformers. Since his extremely long list of analyzed pairs of examples frequently quotes stanzas of text from each, it is especially easy to find corroboration of points I make later with English materials (especially that touching the transformation of images, p. 264).

[16] On these matters of double texts and simultaneous singing see G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (N. Y., 1940), p. 315 (that motets incorporating bits of original secular motet-words were probably not intended for church services); p. 357 (Pope John's bull, 1324/1325, virtually banning polyphony, but in abeyance before very long; translated in *Oxford History of Music*, 1920, I, 294–296). See very many references in G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (N. Y., 1959), especially p. 55, the motet-chanson as written by Dufay (secular French text for two upper voices and Latin text for lowest part); p. 89, *incipits* of a rondeau by Binchois that survives with both a secular and a sacred text; and *passim*. For the canon of 1562 see pp. 448–449; it is important to have a clear idea of the kind of musical excesses which provoked it.

[17] In his edition of *Calvin's First Psalter* [1539] (London, 1932), p. vii; he recalls the popularity in Francis I's court of Marot's psalms set to popular airs, the Huguenot adapta-

could well be pondered when we consider the interchanges and borrowings of other similar 'arts' and 'devices' and techniques—those rhetorical arts which govern the musical management of verse whether it is secular or religious. The sense of sharp demarcation may belong more, as it does in the musical historians, to the nineteenth century than it does to the sixteenth and seventeenth.[18] Clearly we cannot apply our common notions about felt incongruities between profane and religious 'worlds' to times when even a Beza himself expected men to sing his translation of the canticle 'Voici que dit David' to an air he chose and set, 'De retourner mon ami je te prie'; when the 1540 Flemish psalter directed men to sing Psalm xxvi to the tune of 'Ick weet een vrouken amoreus', or the Antwerp psalter of 1541 set Psalm cviii to 'Faulte d'argent c'est douleur non pareille'; when it was entirely in line with long-followed practice to fit a 'Kyrie eleison' to the initial portion of the madrigal 'Reviens vers moi', or to sing Luther's 'Nun freut euch lieben Christen g'mein' to the secular tune he chose for it.[19] Nor should we

---

tion of known tunes, and the use of Lutheran chorales, of which some of the best were 'originally secular songs', reminding us that equally 'the "popish" origin of a tune' was no obstacle to its use. There are comments in H. C. MacDougall, *Early New England Psalmody* (Brattleboro, Vt., 1940), p. 17, and some corrections of Terry's edition in W. S. Pratt, *Music of the French Psalter of 1562* (N. Y., 1939), p. 15 n.

[18] Douen, for example, though his massive volumes are a basic piece of research, has both a musical prejudice common at his date ('ce deplorable tonalité gregorienne', II, 364) and a pronounced Protestant bias; he is anxious to claim that the Huguenot psalter introduced no secular melodies 'telles quelles' into its pages, and to answer contemporary and later accusations concerning its lax and effeminate 'Ionic' and 'Lydian' airs, but he likes at one and the same time to score contemporaries who set German and Flemish and French *Catholic* spiritual songs to secular tunes, and he is very considerably shocked by some kinds of medieval Catholic *contrafactum* and parody masses. See both ch. 22 of I and ch. 24 of II.

[19] The Kyrie is Philippe de Monte's, the Beza example is taken from Douen (I, 664–668, 680), where examples abound throughout I, ch. 22 and II, ch. 24. The former chapter gives 30 of the first lines of secular tunes, one per psalm, singled out for use by the 1540 Flemish psalter, and they range from 'J'avais fait choix d'un amant' (for Psalm xii) to 'J'ai perdu la tête' (for Psalm xx; see pp. 682–683); cf. also other examples from the Antwerp psalter of 1541 (p. 712). Secular songs of Marot's own were reused (e.g. for Psalm ciii; see p. 687). Some of the examples most amusing to us with our own more rigid post-nineteenth-century ideas of decorum in religious music come from E. de Beaulieu's volume, *Chrestienne reiouissance*, 1546—a paternoster set to 'Les Bourguignons ont mis le camp', or the doubtful ingenuity of continuing a love song 'Puisqu' en amours a si beau passe-temps' by adding the clause '. . . je veuil amer Dieu' (Douen, I, 704 f., 708 ff.). A revealing example is the *quattrocento* Zachara da Teramo's conversion of his own macaronic *ballata* 'enthusiastically' addressed to Pluto into a credo (Reese, *Renaissance*, p. 33). For references to the sources of information on Luther's chorale see the treatments of it indexed in H. Glahn, *Melodistudier til den Lutherske Salmesangs Historie fra 1524 til 1600*

attribute to insensitivity such absence of strain, touching the medieval religious use of formal arts or elements familiar in secular contexts, or touching the Protestant reformers' use of familiar music without hesitating at connotations either worldly or popish. A likelier explanation would be the sensible assumption by most of these men that formal elements in an art do not have a Protestant or a Catholic soul, a profane or a sacred 'nature' except as their *formal* character provides tangible distinctions; and one would incline to the judgment that Herbert's or other poets' uses of rhythms, devices, and rhyme-groups with a largely secular history show a similar understanding of decorum. One halts before a godly stanza-pattern, or an unchaste feminine rhyme, as before a Christian vowel-quantity, or a Mahometan alliteration. As well say—as some one did—all that pale mauve is un-American.

Certainly the English and Scottish 'parodies' of the sixteenth century show very little sense that formal borrowings would bring their secular flavor with them, to provide a secret ambiguity in men's responses. To our unaccustomed minds the 'incongruities' arising from such imitation do often seem more like camels than gnats; yet, had they been strained at, the whole purpose of the reforming 'sacred parodists' would have been set at nought. It is not possible to call in question the single-mindedness with which men were able to accept the spiritual songs in, for example, the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*. This much reprinted book, though it contains translations of psalms and canticles, is not a collection of hymns used in services, rather of sung religious lyrics. Yet the historian of the Scottish psalter calls it 'a book which, next to the Bible itself, did more than any other to further in Scotland the Reformation cause'.[20] These are sung, not read, lyrics, though no music is printed, the

---

(Copenhagen, 1954), especially no. 58, p. 152, and no. 70, p. 181 (in the section 'Verdsligt Melodistof'); this advantageously recent study is helpful because citations and corrections of earlier work on the various tunes are full and convenient, and melodies with variants are transcribed in part II.

[20] M. Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (London, 1949), p. 5. Of the book commonly known as *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* (here abbreviated *GGB*) I use the Scottish Text Soc. edition of the 1567 ed., *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs*, ed. A. F. Mitchell, with copious notes and appendices (Edinburgh and London, 1897). In the examples which follow I deliberately keep to a few volumes—Chappell, the *GGB*, Rollins' editions of miscellanies—even though the nineteenth-century editors write without benefit of much information found since, and the character of tunes is sometimes belied in early reprintings. I attempt thus to make it convenient for readers to look at long texts, and at portions of secular originals, or to test out the music—for points about incongruity and the like may not be accepted on the basis of a stanza or two. More up-to-date exam-

secular tune being simply cited. Hence, a singer who knew what tune to use for the spiritual song I quote below did know the secular song at the left. Thence, for example, it was present to the mind (if not at the instant of singing) that the melodic phrase for I-the-pined-lover-of-my-lady now fits itself to Christ-the-pined-lover-of-mankind, and evidently this fact did not carry with it the sense that earthly and heavenly lover could both be suggested, with the disturbances of tone and temper that would result.

Into a mirthfull May morning
As Phebus up did spring
I saw a May both fair and gay,
Most goodly for to see!
I said to her be kind
To me that was so pyn'd
For your love truly.
(*GGB*, p. 270)

In till ane myrthfull Maij morning,
Quhen Phebus did vp spring:
Walkand* I lay, in ane garding gay,
Thinkand on Christ sa fre:
Quhilk meiklie for mankynde,
Tholit to be pynde,
On Croce Cruellie. La. La.
(*GGB*, p. 137; *variant 'Waking')

Without the least attempt at disguise of provenance, men were expected to (and hundreds did) sing 'Grievous is my sorrow', a long lyric of the kind called Christ's Complaint to Man, to the music of a song which Ritson reprints as 'The Dying Maiden's Complaint'. Hers too begins

Grevus ys my sorowe,
Both evyne and moro,
Unto myselffe alone,
Thus do I make my mowne, . . .

—but with the last clause we change to 'Thus *Christ* makis . . .'.

. . . Thus Christ makis his mone,
Saying, Vnkyndnes hes killit me,
And put me to this paine:
Allace! quhat remedie,
For I wald nocht refraine.
(*GGB*, p. 151)

. . . Thus do I make my mowne,
That unkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
And putt me to this peyne,
Alas! what remedy
That I cannot refreyne!
(Ritson, *Ancient Songs & Ballads*, ed. Hazlitt, p. 171)

The secular song as an ultimate source for the theme and characteristic structure of such a religious poem is out of the question; this is not

---

ples would not affect my points, and unless recent information and research would so do it is not cited. Music for the example next following ('Into a mirthfull . . .') is found in Forbes' *Cantus* (2d ed., 1666, sig. A2); only the secular words appear.

strictly a *popule meus* poem, but the details of the 'unkyndnesse' suffered during Christ's life and Passion contrasted with the 'Kyndnesse' of the Atonement, are usual in this small poetic kind.[21] Nevertheless, to those who knew both well enough to sing both, the identity of commencement, refrain, and melody could conceivably be constant reminders that the author seemed, at least, to be simply translating a profane into a heavenly love; moreover, images using the same terms occupy the same musical place (the heart, the tomb, the bequeathing) and frequently show an identical series of rhymes. The types of rhetorical formal relation are very like those which attach Herbert's poem to Pembroke's, though closer and more frequent. But nothing in Herbert's imitation shows the interesting effect below:

(the maiden's complaint)
O harte I the bequyeth
To hyme that is my deth,
Yff that no harte haith he
My harte his schal be;
Thought unkyndnes haith kylled me,
And putt me to this payne,
Yett, yf my body dye,
My hertt cannott refrayne.

(Christ speaks)
Go, hart, I the bequyeth
To hir that was my deith,
Mannis Saule is scho [she] trewlie,
My hart hir hart sall be,
Thocht scho maist unkyndlie slew me,
And put me to greit paine:
ȝit thair is na remedie,
My hart will nocht refraine.

Despite precise verbal imitation, these are not the same image at all. The prior existence of the traditional spouse image allowed the adaptation, but the sense in which Christ's bequeathed heart '*hir* hart sall be' quite alters the function and nature of the figure, and the same thing happens because of the special theological meanings of 'unkindness' (in a special way un-natural and in-grate), as the changes are rung on this in the fifth line of each stanza. The same real transformation, not imitation, of *meaning* occurs in the changing relevance of the refrain—both melody and words meanwhile providing a strict formal identity. This phenomenon furnishes us with the reason why 'incongruities' were not felt as such, for they are apparent, not real. The question of congruity does not arise where subjects are not parallel but, simply, different.

[21] See the present author's *A Reading of George Herbert*, part I, especially pp. 32 ff. The tomb image is probably immediate imitation of thought as well as form, whereas the motifs of 'if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow', of 'love bought dear', and the testament image, show the kinship with Good Friday complaints. It is quite possible that the secular complaint, composed late, had imitated some other religious poem of this special small 'kind', for the refrain fits best the familiar attitude of Christ in the religious *planctus*.

This is also the reason why it is superficial to speak as if parodic imitation in which the secular is converted to the sacred *of itself* brings in a baroque tension or ironic dissonance between two 'worlds'. Form can straddle two worlds without tension; it is conceptual identifications (within images, for example) which bring in the likelihood of ambiguous doubleness, and our tools for detecting such identifications in users' minds (let alone readers' minds) are very blunt. If we met, in a poet whose date led us to expect such complications, the use of an *aubade*, tune and all, for a religious 'parody', voices would not be wanting to call attention to the witty doublenesses surely intended by one who would use the situation enclosed in that particular small form for a sacred lyric.

The thissel-cok cryis
On louers vha lyis,
Nou skaillis the skyis:
The nicht is neir gone.

As the parody below advances beyond the initial identical lines, we see that when in it Christ has become the cock announcing 'dawn', then that dawn takes on a meaning which totally ousts the usual *aubade* situation. The warning voice of a cock in an *aubade* wakens lovers so that the idyl need not come to a violent end but may continue when jealous day in its turn is near gone. But Christ has not become *that* cock, and *night* has turned into a *figure*, making an 'identical' line an utterly dissimilar line:

Hay! nou the day dauis;
The jolie Cok crauis;
Nou shroudis the shauis,
Throu Natur anone.
The thissel-cok cryis . . .
The nicht is neir gone.
(*GGB*, p. 289)[22]

Hay now the day dallis,
Now Christ on vs callis,
Now welth on our wallis
Apperis anone:
Now the Word of God Regnes: . . .
The nycht is neir gone.
(*GGB*, p. 192)

This parody could, but does not, pull over some of the original point of the warning voice which wakens lovers in the *aubade*; it could, but does not, thereby introduce baroque dubieties, as though the author were implying some sorriness that the 'night' (here, of ignorance, often of

[22] In the notes on p. 289 the editor dates early references, though the secular text quoted is late and there is much controversy about the tune. My points hold no matter what variants of the conventional medieval *aubade* images came directly under the eye of the parodist.

sensual love) was brought to a conclusion by Christ's 'reign'. I am not sure how a later religious poet with a different type of sensibility would manage to convey the notion that he was not quite ready to be so delighted that his night of natural sensuality was brought to an end by Christ's wakening cry. But I am sure that such ambiguities, in baroque poets either, should not be claimed on verbal identity alone, but depend on their retaining, provably, some of the original's *reason for using* the images of cock and night. In our instance, those images have been displaced; the new cock, and the night whose going is unequivocally welcomed (as 'Christis flock singis' what they are taught by the 'Word' of God who is 'King of all Kingis') are new images.[23]

They happen also, of course, to be very old ones. The ancient Christian symbolism of Christ as cock, thence priest or preacher as cock, perhaps started this poem (it is a criticism of clerics) on its way; but it is not very important to it. Only so much of a symbol is 'in' a poem, even a poor one, as can be seen to serve some end there. A different situation appears in another song related to the *aubade* form, one of the 'spiritualizations' written to the prodigiously popular sixteenth-century tune of 'The hunt is up'. The symbolic figure of Christ the king-huntsman, and the resulting figures playing on *his deer—his dear*, are sustained through eighteen stanzas. They tell of God's creation and enclosure of his grounds, of how the deceiver caused God's chosen Dear to leap the pale, how He

> . . . sent his owne soone,
> Who strongly begoon
> To hunt both hill and playne;
> No one kynd of payne
> But he dyd systayne,
> To wyn his deare agayn.

And of how He then enclosed a 'park', and taught twelve 'To blow so just a note' as brings all deer within it; and the poem ends with injunc-

[23] I would attach a warning against the idea that what is here noted is 'same *form*, different *content*'. The entrance of figurative meaning is equally a formal element, and both have altered. What we have yet to devise is ways of distinguishing the differing kinds of contributions made, by formal elements which differ within their sameness, to meaning. We shall thereby arrive at firmer notions of what constitutes *evidence* for claims made on the basis of the true general statement, 'Form is a component of meaning'. I would anticipate that the best route to this is careful historical study of poems, for it is only too easy to claim that some component we hope is there is 'in the form'.

tions to keepers, and promises to those who will 'be his deere for ever'. There were many sets of secular words, so familiar that I quote none, and similarly this is only one of the 'moralizations' written to the tune.[24] Indeed, 'a hunt's-up' became a substantive, and what witty ambiguities might we not introduce into the godly parody when we learn from Cotgrave's Renaissance dictionary that the synonym for French *resveil*, a morning song *for a new-married wife*, is 'a hunt's-up'? But for the fact that there is no evidence that it was intended, this connotation could provide an interesting shock in the final use of that anima-spouse image which of course is present throughout:[25]

> The hunt is up,
> The hunt is up,
> Loe! it is allmost daye.
> For Chryst our kyng
> Is cum a huntyng,
> And browght his deare to staye.

It seems worth while to remind ourselves frequently that 'music is at the bottom of it', in this establishment of a widespread habit of 'sacred parody'—widespread long before we can expect, or find, anything at all close to a baroque sensibility demonstrated in the parodic relation between secular and sacred texts. To be sure, plenty of music of this same period has the habit of pointing secretly at some hidden doubleness of meaning,[26] but its characteristics are not shared either by that which

[24] See Chappell, I, 60–62, and another appears in *GGB*, p. 174, notes on p. 283. John Thorne's text which I have described was printed by Halliwell, *The Moral Play of Wit and Science* (1848, *Shakespeare Soc.* II).

[25] The provision of such an interesting shock often seemed the chief reason for some of the interpretations offered during that decade or so when the Elizabethans were permitted to have no word which simply meant 'die: to expire'.

[26] I refer of course to the extreme form of musical double meaning in which abstractions, veritable concepts, are suggested by truly musical means—the riddles and hidden references apparent to a coterie of highly trained musicians. But even the two simpler forms of musical translation of texts—word-painting, and the suiting of pattern to mood—could not have been much attended to by composer, singer, or listener in the really popular borrowings. Only in case we find Pembroke-Herbert music can we examine the possibility of a composer's intended relations to Pembroke's text (of any of these three kinds familiar to musicians), and it would still be difficult to prove that Herbert ironically made capital thereof, *and was so heard*. But I am interested to demonstrate the existence of an interchange between secular and sacred sung texts so habitual and so unself-conscious that we should need just such proof before we should have a right to conclude that Herbert's own imitation of secular lyrics was ambiguously significant. Yet this conclusion is

arose from the quite usual medieval practice of *contrafactum* or that which we trace during the sixteenth-century wave of borrowing tunes for sacred songs. But for the still-maintained ancient tie between lyric poem and music, we might have had very little of the phenomenon of parody, so far as the English poetic scene exhibits it; its far greater seventeenth-century strength in some other countries may support very different conclusions from those I have stressed.

One point should be recalled: that early 'popular music' had a character so different from that of popular music as we have been accustomed to it since the eighteenth century, and was formally so much more truly suitable to sacred themes and moods, that nothing but singing two texts to a melody shows how natural the interchange was. Luther's 'Nun freut euch', like other chorales less universally recognized as popular tunes, takes and has kept its place in the most dignified of all hymnologies with no sense of alienness; it was one of those Coverdale reproduced with the music, and translated, in his attempt to introduce into England words and music from the Wittenberg and other chorale books from 1524 onward.[27] England shared least in this enrichment of ecclesiastical music through deliberate borrowing; even Protestant France, though less eminent and less alive musically, benefitted more, through the Huguenot psalter of 1562 and its predecessors for which Bourgeois found and arranged so many magnificent settings for Marot's vernacular metrical psalms. One may sing through the whole without noting flaws in decorum attributable to provenance, and usually only the asterisk affixed by an editor would apprise one of secular origin. Wynkyn de Worde printed in 1530 this sacred song with its music:

---

taken for granted in Herbert criticism, and is what makes critics of the whole period think of 'sacred parody' as baroque. On the possibly different situation in other literatures, see E. M. Wilson's article in *Jour. of Ecclesiastical Hist.* IX (1958), 38–53, 'Spanish and English Religious Poetry of the Seventeenth Century'.

[27] His *Goostly psalmes & spirituall songes*, c. 1543 (STC 5892) was ordered burnt in 1546; see *English Music*, Bodleian exhibit of 1955. For a musical transcription and an examination of the unique copy at Queen's College, Oxford, I owe thanks to my friend James Dalton, fellow of Queen's; 'Be glad now all ye Christen men' occurs at ff. 13v–15v (sigg. Div–iiiv). Words are given at p. 534 of *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, ed. G. Pearson (1846, Parker Soc. XIV). See n. 19 above; in Thomissøn's *Den danske Psalmebog* (ed. of 1569) 'Nu fryder eder' appears on f. 51v (Glahn's index no. 109, p. 225; see also no. 58, p. 152). For the Wynkyn de Worde song mentioned in this paragraph see a page of music reproduced in App. III of *GGB*, and the sacred text given at p. 271 (compare that on p. 140 from the 1567 *GGB*); the British Museum copy is K.1.e.1, where the song beings on sig. Hiv and is attributed to John Gwynneth at the end on H4v.

And I mankynd haue not in mynd
My loue that mornyth for me for me.
Who is my loue but god aboue
That born was of Mary . . .
That king of blys my loue he ys
That mor*n*th so sor for me.

The melody is almost certainly from a secular song of which these words are a parody, but it is entirely suitable to its present text.

Only occasionally can one pass off the practice as a revivalist device—suitable to naïve singers, musical stuff for Flemish weavers. This does seem to me to fit the remaking of the famous song 'Who is at my window, Who? Who?'. The tune had an interesting history of instrumental settings. Chappell's text of the sung tune is rather a jingle, *formally* suitable instead to its original secular words, and we need not ask ourselves seriously why those who enjoyed singing such a parody felt no formal incongruity as they went through the long dialogue-song. 'Ane wratcheit mortall' sings verses which end 'Se Quho is at thy windo, quho', and his 'Lord Celestiall' sings those which end 'Go from my windo, go' (the refrain later shifts to a series of changes rung on 'In at Thy door let me go' ('. . . at My door thou shalt go')). The conception of the deity's nature is as relaxed as the tune, but apparently nothing very early remains[28] to give us an actual secular text for comparison save other 'real' parodies (take-offs) in various snatches in plays. In the main however, there is singularly little in this whole sixteenth-century exchanging of melodies that encourages us to check up the entire affair to the same account as '*OH* come, *to* the church in the wildwood | *THE* lit-tle brown church in the vale'. Even for 'Who is at thy window', as also for the pious text to the tune of 'John come kiss me now' (*GGB*, p. 158, and Chappell I, 147), we should doubtless remind ourselves that this Scottish collection was a book of songs for household hearths and for jogging about, not for church and service.

[28] I have not thought it worth while to search beyond the reprinted 'godly ballad' in *GGB*, p. 132, and Chappell, I, 140–142; but for Richard Allison's setting with elaborate variations see Sydney Beck, *The First Book of Consort Lessons* (N. Y., 1959), no. 12, and Reese, *Renaissance*, pp. 874–875 and index. But if we wish to sing it, the godly words are scarcely to be preferred to those well-known ones in the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* III.v: 'Go from my window, love go: | Go from my window my dear, | The wind and the rain will drive you back again, | You cannot be lodged here. | . . . Begon, begon my juggy, my puggy, begon my love my dear. | The weather is warm, 'twill do thee no harm, thou canst not be lodged here.'

For many sacred parodies we have only the names of original secular texts which served to identify the tunes—evidence of the practice but of no use for judging of relations. Or we have the numerous references to 'a moralization of' this or that, entered in the Stationers' register, references such as are scattered through the pages of Chappell and which attest to the habit of 'spiritualizing' secular songs whose texts we possess, but which can tell us nothing of the nature of the imitations. On the other hand, the long text of the extremely well-known 'Nut Brown Maid' can be compared stanza after stanza with the parody in which it becomes a dialogue between Mary and Christ the 'banished man' (c. 1520: printed by E. F. Rimbault, *Ancient Poetical Tracts*, 1842, Percy Soc. VI, pp. 33 ff.; chiefly alike in rhyme-words preserved).

In stressing religious-from-secular borrowings only, for their obvious pertinence to our special questions, I have introduced a division into categories which does not stand out so sharply during the periods concerned. It is also pertinent to recall the large amount of parody in which a secular text replaced another secular text, since we are interested in gauging the extent to which melodies were felt to be a divisible formal element, not inescapably tied to one kind of meaning or another. This should shed light on the extent to which certain other formal devices were similarly regarded. Recalling that parody involves deliberate modeling (though of course singers as well as authors can be parodists), one still has only to leaf through the row of Elizabethan miscellanies for examples; in *A Gorgeous Gallery* (1578): 'The Lover wounded with his Ladies beauty craveth mercy. To the Tune of where is the life that late I led', i.e. 'If pitty once may mooue thy hart' (p. 39);[29] or 'Not light of loue lady' (p. 38), 'To the Tune of Attend thee go play thee'; or 'Passe forth in doulfull dumpes my verse' (p. 31), 'To the tune, when Cupid scaled first the Fort'; or 'The glyttering showes of *Floras* dames' (p. 26), to the famous tune of 'lusty Gallant'. Singing it to that tune (in Ward, pp. 176, 170), one may enjoy the exercise of seeking any comparable element which made the tune seem suitable also to 'Fain would I have a pretie

[29] On the ballad and tune 'Where is the life . . .', see *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, p. 88. For all these miscellanies I have used Hyder Rollins' editions, with his helpful notes and cross references. On the third example, from p. 31, see *Tottell's Miscellany*, II, 283; a 'moralization' of the latter printed by J. P. Collier (*Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies*, 1840, Percy Soc. I, p. 29) treats of the fight against the papists for 'God's Fort'. John Ward treats the 'Music for *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*' in *Jour. of the Amer. Musicological Soc.* X (1957), 151–180; on 'Lusty Gallant' and 'Fain would I have . . .', see pp. 169, 176—cf. Chappell, I, 92; 16 of the tunes are now recoverable (p. 155).

thing, to giue vnto my Ladie', in *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (1584), p. 57. One may also try to imagine how a 'moralization' can possibly have gone onward following the first line we have from its 1566/1567 entering, 'Fayne wolde I have a *godly* thynge to shewe unto my ladye', and how it can have used the engaging part of the tune that goes with this part of the song in the *Handful*:

> I name no thing, nor I meane no thing,
> But as pretie a thing as may bee.

But these citations could go on for pages, showing us how usual a thing was 'parody' (whether called by that term or not) in the first and simpler musical sense which we set out to examine.

Much more could be presented. My object has been simply to indicate the existence and extent of a practice which descended to seventeenth-century 'parodists' without break, a long history of formal imitation and exchange, unself-conscious and ordinary, provocative neither of ambiguities nor ironies. This long development has to be taken into consideration when we wish to determine *what* precisely allows us to think of seventeenth-century religious uses of secular formal elements as something characteristically baroque, something related to the marriage of two incompatible worlds, with all the unresolved tensions, the ambiguities and oblique double intentions which thence accrue. If it be the presence of ironic dissonances that allows this categorizing, our readiness to find these must depend on something other than the mere practice of 'spiritual parody' itself, for scores of examples of the spiritualizing of secular poetry are not baroque at all in this respect or others. The practice alone of 'spiritual parody' is fairly generally accepted as a criterion for such categorizing, but the category itself breaks down if we include what the criterion would admit.

Touching Herbert in particular, these details of literary history are evidence for the fact that even if numerous forms of converting the secular were more important in his poetry than they are, this would not declare to us the nature of his motives or the kind of attitude he took toward secular arts and profane love. It would be no more legitimate, and no service to him, to substitute—for an alignment with a Counter Reformation Southwell on grounds of shared aesthetic—an alignment with the Coverdales and Wedderburns and Sternholds whose motives were more typically puritan. We must look elsewhere than to his 'sacred' use of the formal arts and devices of profane love poems for

evidence that he condemned their subject. He had many predecessors in the practice who also shared these reformers' habit of borrowing without sharing their puritan or pietistic reasons for doing it. Surely it somehow lessens Herbert as a poet to conceive of him as nervously and tensely anxious to convert whatever hinted at the power and interest of love between human beings to pious uses. If this be true, it has very real connections with his theology, particularly with his conception of the definition of the love of God, the center of a Christian life as of a Christian theology. Such interpretations do not seem to me to square with the rest of his poetry, nor with his notably sane and balanced understanding of the close relation between heavenly love and all the many kinds of human love which he dealt with, knew, and apparently wove into a life distinguished for its practice of loving-kindness.[30]

Yet once at least he indubitably did remake an extant secular poem into a sacred one, and his title 'A Parodie' constitutes *his* definition of what he has done. But instead of assuming, from his act, a campaigner's intention, should we not rather follow his title's suggestion and relate the poem to the history, including the musical history, of such remakings? They were *formal* imitations; they were not ways of declaring a position through oblique commentary upon another text whose different *concepts* were thus derogated, or whose concepts were the source of hidden ambiguities because these were felt to be still present in the borrowed *form*. Where reformers used parody for their special intentions, it is abundantly clear that the formal elements borrowed are not the carrier for these. However, though one may be convinced that Lord Pembroke's *Song* was sung, and that Herbert followed a musical convention of some centuries' standing in writing a 'parody' of it, the only way to make sure that that conviction stands upon a fact would be to find the piece of music. This I have not succeeded in; and because I hope some one else will, I shall set down with some exactness just how and where I have looked for it.

Because of the younger Donne's reference to Lawes and Laniere (thought to be Nicholas, 1588–1666), in the 1660 edition of Pembroke and Ruddier containing 'Soules joy', one would seek first in them. One would expect a later public appearance of such an air, not one contemporary

[30] For more careful examination of such relations and definitions with evidence from the poems, see the present writer's 'George Herbert and *Caritas*', *Jour. of the Warburg and Courtauld Inst.* XXII (1959), 303–331.

with Pembroke and Herbert—always provided it were thought to be worth publication. The printed collections were examined, beginning with those mentioned in Grove's *Dictionary* as important for Lawes; this is made easier by the fact that the several collections printed for Playford[31] are indexed in Day and Murrie's first-line index of *English Song-Books 1651–1702* (1940), with a check made possible by the more recent *Music at the Huntington Library* by E. Backus (1949).[32] The knotty problem of music still in manuscript is not taken care of by the first-line indices which fortunately exist (for the British Museum, for manuscripts at Christ Church, Oxford and at the Music School, supplemented for Oxford by the first-line card-index of manuscript poems in the Bodleian, in process[33]); there is still the matter of manuscripts acquired since those listings. This is easier to handle for Lawes, and in particular the important privately-owned 'Lawes Autograph MS.' often mentioned in connection with work on the *Comus* music is now at the British Museum (B.M. Loan 35) and was examined. But despite the helps like the British Museum class catalogues and Bodley's slip-catalogues, my

[31] *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues* (1652, 1653, 1655, 1658, 1659, with slight variants in titles); the 1669 *Treasury of Musick* is important for Lawes. Both Lawes brothers' names and Laniere's appear on the title page of the handsome 1653 ed. (the 1652 printings being without Lawes' consent). See the interesting article by E. Ford Hart, 'Introduction to Henry Lawes', in *Music & Letters* XXXII (1951), 217–225, 328–344; and on various matters concerning him, Willa Evans, *Henry Lawes, Musician and Friend of Poets* (N. Y., 1941). We now have, in the relevant volume (1960) of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, V. Duckles' article on this composer.

[32] Nevertheless, considering the use of airs slightly altered for different sets of words, it seemed wise to look at copies when possible (B. M., Bodleian, Yale) to see if manuscript notes would add information; and for the same reason to look as often as one could at the manuscripts themselves in the case of indexed but unpublished songs. In any 'first-line' index, there are five possible headings for 'Soules joy' (each stanza or half-stanza, and the refrain), the manuscript musical miscellanies especially being content to take tag-lines from any of these places. Hence the request on my first page that musical students looking for other things will keep this text in mind.

[33] By Miss M. Crum; to be added, for Bodleian music, is the music index in the Upper Reading Room. Hughes-Hughes' *Catalogue of MS. Music in the British Museum* (1906–1909, and supplements) lists both by composer and first line; the *Catalogue of Music belonging to the Music School* (1854), and Arkwright's *Catalogue of Music in the Library of Christ Church* (1915) cover the most important Oxford collections not in Bodley. Squire's *Catalogue of Printed Music at the Royal College of Music* is by composers, hence that collection and the manuscripts at St. Michael's Tenbury (catalogued in 1924 by Fellowes, but predominantly church music) were inadequately covered. The B. M. Manuscript Students' Room has a recent accessions handlist, and music manuscripts therein were looked at; but any hiatus in the Addit. and Egerton MSS. between the latter and Hughes-Hughes' date is uncovered, since of course no ordinary manuscript catalogue can take care of this type of problem.

checking of Laniere seems uncomfortably inadequate.[34] At this point, however, one may recall that all we know from Donne's preface is that Lawes and Laniere are good risks—the song may be any one's. To meet such a problem, we have only things like Fellowes' numerous publications, such collection listings as go by first line rather than composer, and the possibility of covering through reading-room handlists such recent acquisitions as the extraordinary huge two-volume MS. Egerton 3665. There is still, so to speak, a hole between Fellowes and Playford[35] —and I hope Lord Pembroke's song is in it.

The musical literature, and particularly the manuscripts, which contain much that can never be got into print completely (like the format of lyrics), can illuminate many of the questions and possibilities which make difficulties for the critic of lyrical writing. This is especially true for poems written for extant music (as compared with those merely set by a later composer). One learns much about such matters as relations that cross language barriers, including the importation of lyric patterns (many manuscripts are half Italian, or sprinkled with French texts; a song of course is borrowable from any model). Or about special 'kinds' like the dialogues, secular and 'spiritual'; about conventional metaphors given more durability by the popularity of kinds of settings (for example the lady as besieged fortress, set from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth in the style of battle pieces; see Reese, *Renaissance*, pp. 12, 56). Or about the particular type of parodic composition paired with its original as an 'answer'; about the popularity of pieces, often to be attributed to a musical setting, and the changes in them to suit later tastes and later musical styles; about the repetition of portions as 'refrains', and other subtler ways in which the contour of poems affects our judgments of their structure; and about conceptions of formal fitness, especially of

[34] Laniere's music even for a masque by Jonson (Pembroke's friend), *The Vision of Delight*, has only recently been brought out into view, by J. P. Cutts in *N. & Q.* n.s. III (1956), 64–67. It is in MS. Egerton 2013, which says nothing of our song, but I attach this scrap of a 'parody' (in all senses): the famous 'Hence all ye vain delights' (f. 3^{v}) from Fletcher's *Nice Valour*, with its ending 'Then stretch our bones . . . Nothing's so dainty sweet as lovely melancholy' has its attached *L'allegro* on f. 5^{v}: 'Come all you deare delights . . . then stretch your selves uppon the Taverne Benches, there's nothinge dainty sweete but wine & wenches'. Images are travestied throughout; musical settings are related but not the same.

[35] In which lie, for example, Porter, Peerson, Filmer—I have not seen the last. The F. Sambrooke whom musicologists will connect with the last-named Egerton MS., 3665, and with N. Y. P. L. Drexel 4302, was a chorister, in his forties, at Herbert's funeral (Aubrey); Herbert presumably knew those he went twice weekly to hear.

what formal elements are assumed to be largely indifferent to mood or conceptual content, hence to be changed or exchanged at will.[36]

It is no easier for a student of music to recognize the possible solution of literary cruxes, unless he knows the lyrical works of several decades almost by heart, than it is for a literary student to perceive—as he reads some setting—that a contemporary musician is overturning some of our most orthodox assumptions about literary decorum, touching tone perhaps, or tempo, or the contribution of rhetorical devices (repetition, inner rhyme, assonance). I allow space to the perhaps overprecise bibliographical materials above partly to emphasize the difficulties and pitfalls which come in the way when literary or musical students need to ask, of the others' expert knowledges, answers to their own respective kinds of questions. And partly to suggest how much remains to be done before we shall have a true sense of what the living reality was that corresponds to the literary phenomenon we refer to as the development of the seventeenth-century lyric.[37]

One aspect of this is small but it is unlikely to receive comment in any other connection: the extent to which the numerous minute facts brought to light in these slow and desultory ways affect our notions of the groupings and exchanged influences between authors. The web of interrelations between writers, and between works, which the living men experienced, would not look at all like our set of logical and schematized critical divisions. The musical popularizing and transmission of texts provided a different kind of viability, and influences unlike those of printed whole editions; the single poem, and not always the most characteristic or 'best' poem, is more important, and moreover what men learn from others' poems depends on what form they meet them

[36] Touching music, the assumption would arise largely because actual experience shows that auditors vary greatly as to their translation of musical elements into this or that mood. This practically necessary neutrality of music (and for similar reasons of many rhetorical effects) must be taken into consideration when we interpret parodic writings, for the incongruities and tensions we care about are those that can be apprehended (in the Herbert example, those that would be inescapably detected by hearers who knew both songs).

[37] Only one small facet of this is apparent in the fact that virtually no editor thinks of reprinted music as a necessary part of annotation, though none would dream of editing without providing variant readings. But the first can under certain circumstances present as important a line on the author's original conception as the second. Only one of the sixteenth-seventeenth-century lyrical writers can conveniently be taught by singing him; yet an easy test of the difference this makes to critical response can be made simply by confining all illustrations in a discourse on that one poet—Campion—to *sung* musical quotations.

in. (This holds for literary critics as well.) A network of ties we are largely unaware of made poets answer each other's poems, try out each other's new modes, proclaim improbable admirations and dislikes, pay the compliment of imitation to attractions we do not see, produce a sudden spate of 'blackamoor' poems or pastoral invitations, pursue some motif to an early, final, and absurd death. Of this network we once had only fairly gross notions—on the order of 'Herrick, son of Ben', 'young Herbert and young King, inside the dean's circle', 'Browne, Spenser, Daniel: another world'. Biographical research has confused our once neat critical alignments, and particularly some of the old assumed antipathies have had to go; the allowed patterns would be further shaken by a detailed history of musical settings.

Odd single relationships can sometimes afford a safer glimpse into special 'influences' and the judgments men made of each other than our ideas of what would be plausible. Who could easily say why, of all the poems Herbert might have imitated, he chose to leave us this one close echo? Not that we lack evidence of connections between the two cousins. We have fairly continuous evidence of the friendly relations between the several Herbert brothers, including Edward and Henry also, and their fourth cousin William Lord Pembroke, and of his favors to George. Pembroke's close friend Ruddier (commonly paired with him touching authorship of poems long before the joint editing of the two in 1660) is the Sir Benjamin Ruddyard to whom Herbert says he is writing for support of his candidacy for the oratorship, as well as to 'my Lord' (pretty certainly Pembroke; letter VIII in Hutchinson, p. 370). Ruddyard was returned for the borough of Wilton, 'again', in June 1625. Herbert evidently owed his own seat as M.P. for Montgomery to Lord Pembroke and his brother Philip (1624; Herbert's term overlapped that of his important earlier patron, for he was not succeeded in the seat by his brother Henry until 1626).

It is a little difficult to disentangle actions in his behalf by the two Lords Pembroke, especially in the matter of the Bemerton living, the deed of presentation of which (16 April 1630) is dated six days after William's sudden death made Philip fourth earl. The story in Walton of King Charles, the Earl of Pembroke, and Laud, at Wilton or Salisbury, together persuading Herbert to acceptance, is properly called in question, but Hutchinson accepts the statement that Pembroke 'requested the King to bestow it upon his Kinsman *George Herbert*' (it was a living

in the earl's gift, but fell to the crown this time through promotion of the incumbent). All Herbert's movements center in Wiltshire for several months around these dates. We may not fix a precise date for the late poem 'A Parodie'; but close connections with Wilton, with the Herberts who came and went there, and with the interests of that third earl who was so well known a patron of poetry and music, do not have to wait for residence at Bemerton. Nor need they depend on whether Herbert was chaplain at Wilton House (as Aubrey says), or on his good friendship with its famous later mistress, Philip's wife Anne, countess of Cumberland.[38]

Lord Pembroke's interest in music is a little less well known than his patronage of poets.[39] Lawes and Laniere most likely did their settings of numerous pieces by him and his friend Ruddier during a connection of long standing—a kind of patronage-partnership which is not unusual, and all the more natural given Lawes' Salisbury boyhood and continued connections there through his father Thomas, vicar choral.[40] The incomparable Dowland set a song of Pembroke's. Tobias Hume, that strange and finally piteous character, would no doubt have liked to have set one too; his dedication of his *Musicall Humours*, 1605, sounds too

[38] The facts about Herbert's connections with Pembroke and Wiltshire may be found in Hutchinson's admirably succinct presentation in his introduction and his commentary on the letters, supplemented by J. H. Summers' also admirable account. Those on Ruddyard, of whom much more of interest could be told, have here received additions from J. A. Manning, *Memories of Sir Benj. Rudyerd* (London, 1841). Of special interest, in 1628, in connection with alleged similar ideas of Herbert's, is *Sir Benj. Rudierd his Speech in behalfe of the Clergie*, printed at Oxford, arguing vigorously for better-paid livings, and commenting on the shame of the fact that clerics are scorned for their poverty, and churches not maintained in dignity. Herbert's activities in the repair of both Leighton Church and Bemerton are well known; he evidently received £50 help, possibly double that, from Pembroke.

[39] His poetic patronage has now been properly studied by Dick Taylor, Jr., in a series of articles, 1955 to 1959; titles may be found in that on 'The Masque and the Lance' in *Tulane Stud. in English* VIII (1958). 'The Third Earl of Pembroke as a Patron of Poetry', in the same *Studies* for 1955, although I had not seen it until my text was written, is especially welcome, gathering together the extremely numerous references to this famous patron and dedicatee of so many poets and dramatists, and confirming our realization that Herbert as poet could not have taken lightly such a kinsman's friendship. Taylor takes no stand on the attribution of 'Soules joy', but see in addition to my previous remarks Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[40] See W. M. Evans, *Henry Lawes*, ch. I, also pp. 30, 37, with dates which support the assumption that Lawes the elder remained at Salisbury quite through Herbert's time. A preface by Henry Lawes in the 1653 *Ayres & Dialogues* shows that he got his texts from their authors directly (one of Pembroke's is included). His pupil and dedicatee Mary Egerton married Herbert's nephew (see n. 7 above).

formal for the friendship we sense in the Lawes connection, and by 1642 he is thanking a later Lord Pembroke for 'a meal's meat' now and then.[41] Other musicians testify to Lord Pembroke's interest in music of other kinds than songs of profane love; Thomas Tomkins' dedication to the earl of his *Songs*, 1622, after alleging ties with him as another west-country man, speaks of his 'often frequenting and favorable attention to the Musicke in the Chappell', music which raises the soul above the body (this would be in the court's Chapel Royal). *The Just Mans Memoriall* is a printed sermon preached by 'T.C.' (his London chaplain?) 'before the interment of the Body' at Baynard's Castle, the earl's London house where he died suddenly 10 April 1630; its description of 'my dead Master', including his daily attendance at prayers, suits ill with the bad reputation Pembroke has had, falsely it now seems, in some modern comment.[42] It takes no flight of the imagination to think that the alleged author of the first 'Soules joy' was a congenial friend as well as helpful kinsman of the author of the second, and that both amateurs of music and of poetry did not live in the same county so many months of several

[41] Dowland's song is in Fellowes, *The English School of Lutenist Song Writers*, vol. XII. See on Hume P. Warlock's *English Ayre* (London, 1926). A useful book on the network of connections not present to the memory of a literary student is W. L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society* (Princeton, 1953). J. H. Summers' chapter on music is welcome for general connections with Herbert. One's hope that scraps of Herbert's own, or contemporary, settings of his verse might turn up in the manuscript indices I have mentioned is met with disappointing silence, though wordless tunes so often have a just recognizable tag that only scrutiny of the manuscripts is sure proof. When the Christmas anthem in dialogue mentioned in H. Davey's *History of English Music* (London, 1921), pp. 228, 211 as 'by Herbert' and set by Ford, is pursued, it turns out to have rather the words: 'Look shepherds, look! | Why? where? | See you not yonder, there! | . . . *The Angel*: Fear not, Shepherds . . .' (spelling modernized; from Bodleian MS. Rawlinson poet. 23, f. 151; also in Ashmole 36–7, f. 255 and Harl. 6346, p. 175). As this goes to press, I am grateful to be told by Mr. Vincent Duckles of six three-part polyphonic settings by Jenkins of poems by Herbert (parts of *Christmas*, *The Dawning*, *Ephes. iv. 30*, *The Starre*) in Christ Church MS. 736–738.

[42] The derogatory commonplaces are controverted by D. Taylor, Jr., in 'The Earl of Pembroke and the Youth of Shakespeare's Sonnets', *SP* LVI (1959), 26–54, and another essay therein cited. I do not know who was Pembroke's chaplain at this date, not at any rate the one of 1624 whose epitaph adjures us to 'Know! thou that treadst on learned *Smyth* inurn'd'—that man is but an unreversible hour-glass. I quote this from the most trustworthy of the manuscripts containing 'Soules joy', Lansdowne 777, f. 55. Its connections with William Browne would reward inquiry, for Wood and others stress his close association with Wilton from 1625; some doubt of Browne's autograph in it is registered in the B. M. copy of the catalogue. A certain 'T.C.' copied a well-known music manuscript, Addit. 11608, containing much Laniere and Lawes but not our *Song*. Whoever the T.C. of the sermon was, he calls himself, in a phrase oddly like the motto of Bemerton's parson, 'I the least of all the least', 'minimorum minimus as Bernard speakes'.

different years connected only by letters and the memory of past obligations. A poem with or without music, in manuscript at Wilton when Herbert came at the earl's persuasion to live so near by,[43] is enough to explain why a good musician should write 'A Parodie'. It is a disappointingly common sense explanation compared with the picture of a Herbert torn by anxieties and determined to turn all secular love into sacred channels, but it suits the man better.

Much of this information, like so much information, simply changes our expectations a little. For the chief support for understanding the poem in the matter-of-fact way I have suggested lies in the nature of the relation between it and its model. It is a formal imitation.

I reproduce the two poems in a format which allows easier comparison.

Song

Soules joy, now I am gone,
And you alone,
(Which cannot be,
Since I must leave my selfe with thee,
And carry thee with me)

Yet when unto our eyes
Absence denyes
Each others sight,
And makes to us a constant night,
When others change to light;

O give no way to griefe,
But let beliefe
Of mutuall love,
This wonder to the vulgar prove
Our Bodyes, not wee move.

A Parodie

Souls joy, when thou art gone,
And I alone,
Which cannot be,
Because thou dost abide with me,
And I depend on thee; 5

Yet when thou dost suppresse
The cheerfulnesse
Of thy abode,
And in my powers not stirre abroad,
But leave me to my load: 10

O what a damp and shade
Doth me invade!
No stormie night
Can so afflict or so affright,
As thy eclipsed light. 15

[43] That the train of requests and persuasions which ended in the Bemerton presentation deed of 16 April was started by William seems likelier than a rapid business assigned all to Philip—initiated, concluded, and officialized within the six days that included his brother's death and burial. Herbert's stature as a poet was known to his friends by 1630, yet no one stresses the fact that congeniality of tastes may have motivated the patron earl as well as the accepting parson; something of this sort probably lies behind Walton's overwritten story. Acceptance must have been at least expected when the deed was dated. Philip was a poor exchange, to any one who had thought the environs of Wilton would be frequently graced by William and by Ruddier.

Let not thy wit beweepe
Wounds but sense-deepe,
For when we misse
By distance our lipp-joying blisse,
Even then our soules shall kisse,

Fooles have no meanes to meet,
But by their feet.
Why should our clay,
Over our spirits so much sway,
To tie us to that way?

O give no way to griefe,
But let beliefe
Of mutuall love,
This wonder to the vulgar prove
Our Bodyes, not wee move.

Ah Lord, do not withdraw,
Lest want of aw
Make sinne appeare; [cleare,
And when thou dost but shine lesse
Say, that thou art not here. 20

And then what life I have,
While Sinne doth rave,
And falsly boast,
That I may seek, but thou art lost;
Thou and alone thou knowst. 25

O what a deadly cold
Doth me infold!
I half beleeve, [grieve,
That Sinne sayes true: but while I
Thou com'st and dost relieve.

The usually careful and meaningful format in Herbert is not disturbed, except to point up by deeper indentation how the parallel third and sixth stanzas would have been sung to what was probably set as a refrain in Pembroke's, twice following upon ten lines (two identically patterned fives). We do not know the format of Pembroke's *Song*. Grierson evidently takes the format, in two ten-line stanzas with an italicized refrain separating these and recurring at the end, from the 1635 Donne (and parallel later editions). In neither of the two manuscript copies (Lansdowne 777, Stowe 962) nor in the 1660 edition of Pembroke is there any indication that the five lines 'O give no way . . .' are a refrain[44]; but if the edition (a bad text) is a careless copy from a music manuscript, this 'refrain', if it is one, might have been sung after each five, not each ten, for the lines appear as the second five.[45] But

[44] Lans. 777, f. 73, the MS. with the crucial ascription to Pembroke, writes five unindented five-line stanzas in a series, thus completing the text but giving no hint that the seeming third stanza is repeated as a refrain. Actually, if there is music, this is how we copy too; we simply get down all the words. Stowe 962, f. 226, ends with Grierson's line 15, and here also there is no indication that the 'refrain' was felt as other than a third five-line verse. Other texts in this MS. are poor. But as an example of 'parody' in the sense we are not using it, I subjoin one on Jonson's famous lyric: 'Have you seene but a blacke little maggott Come creepinge over a dead dogg | Or an old woeman with a fagott Smotheringe of an hedghogge . . . O soe blacke, o soe rough, o soe sower is shee.'

[45] It is there presented, however, as a two-stanza piece, labelled 'I' and 'II'. But the indentation is not careful, lines 16–20 are missing entirely, and errors make some lines senseless. Its editor, the younger Donne, either got it from the composers as he says he

there is no trusting this editor. The 1635 Donne probably got this poem, as it got other additions to 1633, from the O'Flaherty MS. (now at Harvard), for that carefully arranged text gives us a two-stanza song, each of ten lines, with refrain (to repeat at end) as in Grierson, with the additional care, as in Herbert, of showing by lesser indentation that the fourth line, in each stanza and in the refrain, is a longer one. But its verbal blunders are only a little less absurd than those of 1660, and Grierson had to correct them from the Lansdowne MS. (see Grierson, II, xcviii). Syllabically, each stanza (or half-stanza) is 6–4–4–8–6, and the same music will suit the same completed song, whether in six separate fives as in Herbert or two tens with inserted and final refrain as in Pembroke. This explanation was necessary in order to see that Herbert suits a text to a pattern, not a text to a text.

The conceptual structure of the *Song*, quite different from Herbert's, allows the parallel ideas about absence in stanzas one and two to be laid at rest each time by the asseveration repeated in the identical 'refrain', truly one in this respect at least. The thought of 'A Parodie' is not built like this; it proceeds in one line from the impossibility of God's absence, to His seeming absence, to 'O what a damp and shade' that induces, to a plea not to seem absent, to the dangers that involves, to a climactic final five lines that begin *formally* (and with great propriety musically) 'O what a deadly cold . . .', as before, but end '*Thou com'st* and dost relieve'. Conceptually there is and can be nothing in Pembroke's poem for this thought-structure to be a 'parody' of, neutral or otherwise. It is not a parody of ideas or style; it is the use of a strictly formal pattern to write one's own poem to. Whether there was music or not, or whether both poems were sung to some music for a third which we therefore do not find in our searches, Herbert's poem is set 'to' the form, in the way words are set 'to' music. Herbert does not 'leave' Pembroke's subject; he has never picked it up. His poem is on a different subject, which is not the nature of love.

This statement may sound foolhardy in the light of five lines of near

---

got many, in his preface, or from a source that was not the one which put it among the Donne materials, and not either MS. mentioned in note 44. Of course he might have taken a longer text from the 1650 Donne which he had had connections with, but this would have included the embarrassment of finding out whether his father wrote it. Copying from music manuscripts would explain some of the vacillation copyists show, about what its stanzaic form is and what place to give to the five lines 'O give . . .'. Unlabelled refrains are not visually clear to rapid copyists of song-words from music manuscripts, and there is also some excuse for shuffling a form to make it clear as a read poem.

verbal identity between the two poems. But concepts do not build up with words as with bricks, and even closer verbal identity would not make the same idea out of 'my self left with thee' said of a relation to another human being, and 'thou abiding with me' said of God's relation to the soul. Change of referents changes the meaning even of identical words, and this interesting aspect of the relations which obtain between form and meaning provides part of the pleasure in all types of parody. But instead of watching how Herbert talks about seeming absence without talking about Pembroke's subject of seeming absence, we may more profitably follow with some care the formal echoings which relate the two poems well beyond the point where verbal parallels cease.

In doing this I shall make several references to the technique of the *missa parodia*. This is illegitimate in that music alone can show the technique. For any poem is, like a song, monodic, whereas the whole burden of a good deal of fairly recent work on the parody mass is to show its difference from its ancestors, the practice of *contrafactum* (also monodic) and the *cantus firmus* mass, and the difference lies in the fact that a parody mass is based on a polyphonic model and uses its borrowings polyphonically. The *missa parodia* borrows not just a line of melody, augmenting and inverting it and treating it contrapuntally, but borrows consonances, harmonic phrases and entries, polyphonic interweaving of melodic elements. Obviously this can have no precise literary analogue. Yet the effects thus gained, and their obscured but present relations to their model, are more useful to bear in mind than straightforward monodic imitations when one looks at the way combined literary elements of vowel and consonant quality, accent, rhythm, and echo produce a texture related to an imitated texture. In addition, because we need not doubt that Herbert had an ear made alert to this contemporary technique through singing and listening, and because even if he did not know such masses the parody technique was otherwise known in England (see e.g. some of Morley's madrigals and canzonets),[46] and because

[46] On works by Morley parodying compositions by Croce and others, see J. Kerman, 'Morley and "The Triumphs of Oriana" ', *Music & Letters* XXXIV (1953), 185–191, especially p. 188; there is further information in Reese, *Renaissance*, pp. 824 f., with citations (especially to Kerman's dissertation, to appear). I use without direct citation the following treatments: R. B. Lenaerts, 'The Sixteenth Century Parody Mass in the Netherlands', *Mus. Quar.*, XXXVI (1950), 410–421; J. Schmidt-Goerg, 'Vier Messen aus dem XVI Jhr.' [by Palestrina, Lupus, Clemens, and le Roy, all on one motet by Lupus Hellinck], *Kirchenmusikalisches Jb.*, XXV (1930), 76–93; and P. Pisk, *Das Parodieverfahren in der Messe des Jac. Gallus* (Wien, 1918, Studien zur Musikwissenschaft). It would be impossible to cite all

missa parodia may be the term which gave earliest currency to the *term* used in his title, it is proper to make some references thereto. It remains true that his probable confusion of *contrafactum* and *parody* may account for his name, thus harking back to a yet more common technique.

The definite and recognizable use of the original for the opening is universally characteristic. As in 'Souls joy', this is an imitation, often very close, of a largish formal portion, a near-quotation. Every Kyrie in a mass showing either the earlier or the later kind of imitation 'states', as does Herbert's beginning, its parodic character, but it is just as much a Kyrie for all that, and no notion can really enter of a reference to the *ideas* the composer had to hand in his secular musical models, in 'L'homme armé', 'Fortuna desperata', 'Malheur me bat', 'Douce memoire', 'Ite rime dolenti', 'Ultimi miei sospiri', 'Cara la vita mia', 'Puisque j'ai perdu', or whatever else. I simply take names of extant masses by the best-known composers of sacred music;[47] these do not differ in their 'spirituality' from other masses by the same writers based instead on sacred motets[48]—and the same is true if one compares Herbert's 'Souls joy' with his independent or liturgically based sacred poems. Where masses seem 'secularized', as is sometimes said of di Lasso or Victoria, there are formal reasons for it—declamation, 'skipping rhythms', and so on—not this practice of parody which they share with Josquin, Clemens non Papa, Philippe de Monte, Gallus (Handl), Palestrina, and others renowned for their deeply religious quality. Several of these were notably devout men, and if they thought possible the intrusion of secular connotations through formal likenesses, they did ill in usually choosing secular models made famous by recent or noted settings. Taverner's mass founded on and called after 'The Western Wynde' uses *cantus firmus* rather than parody technique, the reworking thus being all the more eminent, but it would be equally idle to suppose that he either feared or desired any tensions set up in his auditory by the fact that in his Bene-

---

the relevant information in Reese, and the reader is referred to the rich presentation of pertinent materials throughout that volume.

[47] About half of the large number of Palestrina's masses and more of di Lasso's are parody masses, and all names I later include are important representatives of the practice. The four masses analyzed by Schmidt-Goerg were published in 1590, 1532 (Lupus's own), 1570, 1585; others were publishing at later dates, though the parody mass declined during the seventeenth century.

[48] Of J. Gallus' 20 masses printed in 1580, 16 are parody masses, and Pisk's analysis indicates no such differentiation in feeling between the 9 based on sacred motets, 3 on German songs, 2 on madrigals, and one with a combined *chanson*-madrigal base.

dictus the trebles sing 'qui venit in nomine Domini', in the Gloria the tenors sing 'peccata mundi', in the Credo 'Patrem omnipotentem'—to that part of the melody every one knew was occupied by 'Christ, that my love were in my arms | And I in my bed again'.

The formal parallelism between Pembroke's *Song* and the 'Parodie' is again peculiarly marked where 'O give no way to griefe, | But let beliefe | Of mutuall love . . .' is echoed by Herbert's 'O what a damp and shade | Doth me invade!' and 'O what a deadly cold | Doth me infold!' This would be a natural way to make the most of a musical phrase, in case Herbert wrote to a setting composed for a text whose 'refrain' had this accentual pattern (therefore occurring twice). The textural likenesses (they are in contrast to his own other fives) are apparent in tempo, shifted accents, falling cadence after the first 'O', long and heavy words, with long vowels in rhyming positions—though the feeling and meaning of the two five-line units are simply not related, not even op-posed.

In musical parody, the fact that one formal structure is being used to bring another one into being results in the appearance of a great many small semi-quotations of partially parallel motifs—ranging from harmonic coloring to *Nebentheme*, sometimes a figure quoted with a slight but transforming change in rhythm or in the time, a lengthened or contracted near-repetition. These are not true analogues to what we find in Herbert's or any literary imitation except that a similar effect of a likeness that is not quite a likeness results from the numerous all-but-parallel rhetorical effects: the same poised hesitation before a cadence in several lines, near-assonance and parallel endings in each 14th line ('this *wo*nd*er* to the *vul*g*ar* prove'; cf. Herbert's alliteration and final consonance in slightly altered accent-positions in 'Can so afflict or so affright'; similarly both 21st lines: '*m*eanes to *m*eet'; 'li*f*e I ha*v*e'); the same high slow emphasis ('Éven then . . .', 'Sáy, that . . .', both lines 20), continuing into a row of fastidiously separated syllables. These relations, like the subtly similar winding of the run-ons, are quite different in effect from outright repetitions like 'Yet when . . .' (6), or the mere clang of rhyme-words in the memory which is most likely responsible for the last stanzas' 'griefe . . . beliefe': 'beleeve . . . greeve'. The contour of 'Lét not thy wit beweepe' (16) is reflected, though with a pebble just moving the image in the pool, in 'Áh Lord! do not withdraw' (16), but they share nothing conceptually except a wordless sense of the mental posture of pleading. One does not think these planned tricks, but the result of a sensitive ear accustomed to notice and take pleasure in artistic

imitation, accompanied by a disposition to regard formal imitating as a thing quite separable from following the line of another man's thought.

Perhaps it is necessary to remark in concluding this comparison that its relevance does not depend on our envisaging England as full of men singing foreign polyphonic masses. To be sure musicians—going either way—did not stop at the channel, nor the tastes of cultivated men pull up short before popish music like pledge-signers, and musical Englishmen were not at this epoch writing or listening to native wood-notes wild; also, in a time of such unusual mobility among performers and composers no great household or cathedral town (or even Cambridge) can be safely placed in the category 'just out in the provinces'. But this is not the essential element in my reason for noting these comparisons. They demonstrate usefully the nature of a parodic relation which imitates *form*, and is unarguably divorced from the interest in evoking conceptual ambiguities which we attribute to practically all literary interactions of the sacred and the profane, especially in the seventeenth century.

That Herbert is one for whom the musical comparisons are particularly apt because of his special interests and competences is so much extra good fortune. It should not need to be said (but experience shows that it does) that the idea of Herbert setting himself to compose 'Souls joy' as if he were writing a parody mass or a parody of a polyphonic canzonet would be a laughable one. Rather we realize that he was used to what it meant to 'parody' formally, and that he had an exquisitely sensitive ear, with complete integrity as far as keeping his eye on his own subject was concerned.

I would suggest that this was his attitude also with respect to the more inclusive matter of his use of arts learned from secular poetry, and that his poems support it. This is not to deny that tensions and wry ironies accompany men's attempts to relate or combine what is sacred to them and what is not, and that these are sometimes expressed in ambiguous juxtapositions or a bizarre relation between form and *raison d'être* of a work of art. That such tensions were peculiarly acute in the early seventeenth century is true, and there is no doubt some virtue in taking over the art historian's terms to call such expressions baroque.[49]

[49] The nature of the distinctions made as this general parallel is forced to take care of divisions into Mannerist, early Mannerist, late Renaissance, Rococo (to give but one example, W. Sypher, *Four Stages of Renaissance Style*, N. Y., 1955, touching Milton), has so far at least seemed unsuitable to the peculiar relation between concept and form in a

Such analogous terms have come to limit overmuch our ideas of what authors can be like, nailing them down often to the insights of their lesser contemporaries. Obviously if a particular practice or a way of using secular arts in sacred art works has had a long history, being used by men who subscribed to a variety of aesthetic positions, its mere presence in an author can tell us little about his particular aesthetic. To ignore this is simply to assume intentions for an author and proceed as if he had declared them. It is necessary to find the declaration of them in the nature of his peculiar expression, and it is hard to find poems by Herbert wherein his uses of arts learned from secular poetry operate as a cause to produce a baroque tension born of straddling two worlds and giving up neither. Or giving up either.

That other men of his date so wrote and had such intentions is only to the purpose in that it warns us to scrutinize his carefully. An author's date can never declare what he meant. Any good writer (and to some extent any writer, and any man) has the freedom of all the history he knows. The history of how other men of other dates used practices he uses is again only to the purpose in that it moves us to careful scrutiny. We have seen that Herbert in turning secular arts to sacred purposes and specifically in writing 'parody' is doing something many generations of men had done before him, and yet that this is not evidence for thinking either that he must share the intentions of the puritan reformers or must resemble in style the pious parodists.

One does not use history to discover uniformities, but possibilities. It is dangerous nowadays to call attention to likenesses between artistic events or habits in different historical eras, since some one always arises to declare that the events are not identical. One thinks of this as a point of departure so accepted that intelligent men do not remark upon it to each other. Artistic expressions are incurably single. It yet remains necessary to demand that writers' differences should be found in that wherein they differ, not in that which they share. Herbert's great differences in style and feeling from his predecessors should not throw dust in our eyes concerning his differences in some elusive but basic ways from his contemporaries. A poet shares much with these, like all men, perhaps more deeply and more variously than most. If he is a good poet he is

---

verbal art like literature. Where distinctions are *by their nature* inadequate to embrace the complexities of that relation criticism has no hope but to remain naive and often totally blind, so that I merely recognize here that many such attempts exist.

different from any one—and also if he is a good poet an enjoyment of his uniqueness is inseparable from the sense of his transcendence of it.

This transcendence of their uniqueness and their unique historical moment is not peculiar to poets but to men. It is not the historian among critics who is likeliest to put an author into the strait jacket of a 'time' or a 'milieu' or a 'tradition', but the critic or reader who by reason of a false sociology does not see writers as men who make choices.[50] Their freedom from time in this respect they communicate directly to us who share it. This does not mean that we need retreat to the obscurantist and at bottom sentimental position that merely by being men—and a poet one who is 'a man speaking to men'—we shall straightway understand all. It is rather when we know enough history not to impose ephemeral distortions (its creator was able to elude them) that a poem reveals to us both its historical uniqueness and its non-historical permanence, and this caveat applies generally to Herbert's and many others' close relation to several kinds of earlier traditions; we hear in Herbert's poems the arts he learned from others, even the words he copied from others, but as it was not these—his history—which finally determined what he made, so also it is not his own historical uniqueness (a true and valuable thing) which alone makes him valuable to us in

[50] That men have this freedom will always make it impossible to equate literary works either with 'the history behind them' or 'the expression of their times'. Yet modern fear of these equations sometimes results in another variant of the confusion between poetry and history. Hence it seems to me the duty of any one dealing even with small examples where all these principles come in question, to proclaim their relation to the ideas which are at stake, and to disregard the risk of overloading a small craft. The tendency to retreat from the intellectual rigors of historical criticism has taken on so many complicated forms during recent years, gaining strength and unexpected forms of adherence across the Atlantic while it weakens somewhat on this side, that one cannot but feel alarm for the future of literary criticism if, as the older forms of rebellious subjectivity fade, we face the growth of an ancient kind of literary pietism, staggered by the problem of relating history to poetry and ready to settle for inner voices (there are many signs of this). It is an evil to substitute knowing the history of something for apprehending it in its living intrinsic essence, and most good historical critics of late have tirelessly pointed out the danger, as they have pointed out the similar abuse of mistaking the irresponsible tracing of 'patterns' of symbolic imagery for the discovery of poets' meanings, and as they have pointed out the manifest impossibility of our somehow through history getting out of our time into another to apprehend first hand an author's true quality in his habit as he lived. These are all forms of shrinking down poetry into history, and all are common. But it is the anti-intellectual and Romantic form of the same evil to let the uniqueness of artistic events obscure all subtler understandings of how authors, and indeed all men, are 'in history' but yet are *not* caught and pinned in their own unique moment of time—in other words produce something that is not only history.

ours. These very borrowed things themselves in any art speak with a voice that was unique and yet is not silenceable in the way everything unique is silenced.

In parody, an extreme and deliberate form of imitation, this can be all the more apparent. I shall now append a parody of my own. It is a tour de force, and not satisfactory, but it will show that borrowings do not account for the things they help to make, that the long history behind a relation between two poems helps us to see what it is and the limits of it, and that the ways in which parodic relations are interesting and pleasurable are too varied to be assigned to any single simple intention in a poet. Lacking a setting for 'Soules joy', I have appropriated and adapted an originally secular composition remade to a sacred use, before 1561, by 'the continuator of Bourgeois', who completed the latter's work on the settings of the Huguenot psalter.[51] The reader is asked to perform this with all the secularity of which he is capable, singing Lord Pembroke's words. And then to see whether, as he sings Herbert's words to the same music, he does not find that a formal imitation is the sole relation between the secular work of art he first produces and his own production of a sacred Parodie.

Connecticut College ROSEMOND TUVE

[51] Bourgeois, before he quitted Geneva in 1557, had set all but 62 psalms of the Huguenot psalter during the gradual process of its translation by Marot and Beza. Psalm xcvi had been among those sung to a twice-used tune (to cxviii) until the unknown continuator found or wrote melodies for these. The music here given is adapted from Goudimel's 1565 setting of the Psalter melody for Psalm xcvi; there is no modern reprint of his 1565 settings, but it may be found in a New York Univ. master's thesis by August Ruut, *The Genevan Psalm Melodies set by Claude Goudimel in Chordal Style*, 1956. (There is a modern harmonization of the tune in J. Ver, *Le psautier Huguenot harmonisé*, Réalville, 1918.) W. S. Pratt (*op. cit.* in n. 17), giving in modern notation the tune as in 1562, for text by Beza, notes its secular origin; see Douen, I, 726, 716, where the initial phrase from its supposed original is given. This is found, ascribed to J. Arcadelt, in *Chansons nouuellement composées . . .* (*Sixiesme livre*, Paris, Le Roy and Ballard, both 1556 and 1559). The melody was very considerably altered; the secular words begin: 'Le saint serviteur eshonte, Qui abusant de la bonté De sa dame, une autre pourchasse N'ha il merité qu'on le chasse? . . .'. Were the scheme of the Pembroke-Herbert stanzas not so extremely rare, I should have found music more capable of enhancing both sets of words, but this is perhaps sufficient to the restricted purpose of demonstration which it here serves.

Texts: 'Song', probably by the Earl of Pembroke. 'A Parodie' by George Herbert

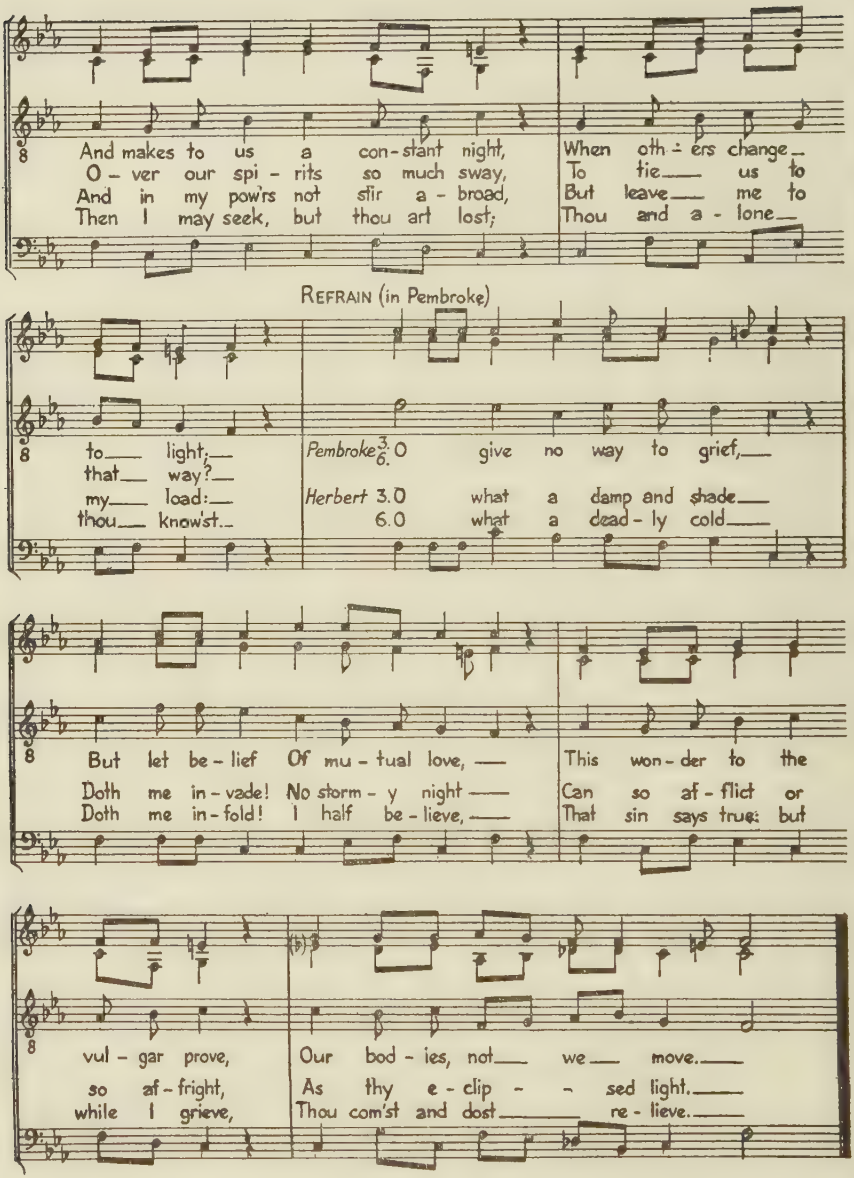
Hypothetical setting with music adapted from Goudimel's treatment of Psalm 96 in *Les Pseaumes . . . mis en musique a quatre parties*, 1565. The Genevan melody is in the tenor.

Pembroke 1. Soul's joy, now I am gone, And you a - lone, (Which
4. Let not thy wit be - weep Wounds but sense deep, For
Herbert 1. Soul's joy, when thou art gone, And I a - lone, Which
4. Ah Lord! do not with-draw, Lest want of awe Make

can - not be, Since I must leave my self with thee,
when we miss By dis - tance our lip - joy - ing bliss,
can - not be, Be - cause thou dost a - bide with me,
sin ap - pear; And when thou dost but shine less clear,

And car - ry thee with me 2. Yet when un-
Ev'n then our souls shall kiss, 5. Fools have no
And I de - pend on thee; 2. Yet when thou
Say, that thou art not here. 5. And then what

to our eyes Ab - sence de - nies Each oth - er's sight,
means to meet But by their feet. Why should our clay,
dost sup - press The cheer - ful - ness Of thy a - bode,
life I have While sin doth rave, And false - ly boast,


And makes to us a con-stant night, When oth-ers change
O-ver our spi-rits so much sway, To tie us to
And in my pow'rs not stir a-broad, But leave me to
Then I may seek, but thou art lost; Thou and a-lone
REFRAIN (in Pembroke)
to light; Pembroke 3. 6. O give no way to grief,
that way?
my load:
thou know'st.
Herbert 3. O what a damp and shade
6. O what a dead-ly cold
But let be-lief Of mu-tual love, This won-der to the
Doth me in-vade! No storm-y night Can so af-flict or
Doth me in-fold! I half be-lieve, That sin says true: but
vul-gar prove, Our bod-ies, not we move.
so af-fright, As thy e-clip-sed light.
while I grieve, Thou com'st and dost re-lieve.

'I Was But an Inverted Tree': Notes toward the History of an Idea

ONE brief section of Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House' describes the flooding of a nearby meadow. The inundation is clearly literal, but beneath the surface of these waters lurks a submerged meaning. An examination of it yields a fuller understanding of Marvell's retreat to the higher and safer ground of a wooded hill, for the flood is perceived to be the final scene in a symbolic enactment of England's civil wars. The meadow had seemed 'A Camp of Battail newly fought', a plain 'quilted ore with Bodies slain' (stanza LIII).[1] When the waters appear 'to conclude' what—with fine irony—Marvell calls 'these pleasant Acts', and to make 'the Meadow truly be (What it but seem'd before) a Sea' (LX), then truly is the time for thoughtful men to meditate upon what they and their revolutionary world have become. For this purpose, Marvell seeks refuge within the secluded grove of academe, there to hold enigmatic self-conference among the trees (LXXI):

> Thus I, *easie Philosopher*,
> Among the *Birds* and *Trees* confer:
> And little now to make me, wants
> Or of the *Fowles*, or of the *Plants*.
> Give me but Wings as they, and I
> Streight floting on the Air shall fly:
> Or turn me but, and you shall see
> I was but an inverted Tree.

England has transformed itself into a world of antediluvian sin; Marvell, we conclude, discovers himself and the nature about him in the process of equally strange metamorphosis. Man becomes avian or arboreal, the separate orders of nature begin to merge, and the universe

[1] *Poems and Letters*, ed. Margoliouth (2d ed., Oxford, 1952).

turns upside down. Turn me, Marvell summarizes, and you discover that I—a microcosm of my disordered world—was already topsy-turvy. This, at least, is the apparent sense of the passage, a sense supported by the existence of that venerable tradition which E. R. Curtius calls the 'topos' of the 'world upsidedown'.[2] Marvell's lines are susceptible to quite different interpretation, however, for the inverted tree has also an ancient history, and its meaning was not always what common sense would suppose.

Indeed, times earlier than Marvell's were aware of no less than three arboreal inversions, the first and—by one generation—the eldest of which was Plato's. Approaching the climax of the dialogue which bears his name, Timaeus discourses upon the lofty nature of man—the only creature, we learn, more of heaven than of earth. The illustrative image is an *arbor inversa*:

> As concerning the most sovereign form of soul in us we must conceive that heaven has given it to each man as a guiding genius—that part which we say dwells in the summit of our body and lifts us from earth towards our celestial affinity, like a plant whose roots are not in earth, but in the heavens. And this is most true, for it is to the heavens, whence the soul first came to birth, that the divine part attaches the head or root of us and keeps the whole body upright.[3]

Many of Plato's metaphors were to be more widely quoted than this one, but the *φυτὸν οὐράνιον*, the heavenly plant, exerted no small influence of its own. Plutarch thus tells us that man is 'inverted to point to heaven'.[4] Our roots, according to Philo, 'come forth from the outmost circles of the so-called fixed stars'.[5] Whether Proclus amplified the image in his

[2] *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. W. R. Trask (N. Y., 1953), pp. 94–98.

[3] *Timaeus*, 90A. Here and later, I use Cornford's translation (*Plato's Cosmology*, London, 1952). The Greek certainly implies all that Cornford says but is not so straightforward in doing so: *τὸ δὲ περὶ τοῦ κυριωτάτου παρ' ἡμῖν ψυχῆς εἴδους διανοεῖσθαι δεῖ τῇδε, ὡς ἄρα αὐτὸ δαίμονα θεὸς ἑκάστῳ δέδωκε, τοῦτο δ δή φαμεν οἰκεῖν μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπ' ἄκρῳ τῷ σώματι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ ξυγγένειαν ἀπὸ γῆς ἡμᾶς αἴρειν ὡς ὄντας φυτὸν οὐκ ἔγγειον ἀλλ' οὐράνιον, ὀρθότατα λεγόντες. ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ὅθεν ἡ πρώτη τῆς ψυχῆς γένεσις ἔφυ τὸ θεῖον τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ῥίζαν ἡμῶν ἀνακρεμαννῦν ὀρθοῖ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα.*

[4] *De exilio*, V (600F); see also *De Pythiae oraculis*, XII (400B).

[5] *Quod deterius potiori insidiari solet*, XXIII. Philo and Plato are both noticed by Adolph Jacoby, 'Der Baum mit den Wurzeln nach oben und den Zweigen nach unten', *Zeit. für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft* XLIII (1928), 78–85. Jacoby, who works almost exclusively with Kabbalah, Upanishad, and German folklore materials, is not primarily interested in human inverted trees. A convenient example of the kind of unmetaphorical tree which receives his attention—though, in fact, this one does not—is Dante, *Purg.*,

commentary on the *Timaeus*, we cannot know—the latter half of the text is unpreserved; perhaps we may suppose that he did, for the commentary on the *Republic* finds suitable occasion to quote Timaeus' words.[6] The Hermetic *Asclepius*, a near relative of Proclus, despite its doubtful parentage, makes up the loss with a Platonic version of 'Man cannot live by bread alone':

Now of all different kinds or races, those which possess soul have roots extending downward to them from above; and those which are soulless sprout from roots which reach upward from below. The one sort are nourished with two kinds of food; the other sort, with food of one kind only.[7]

The *φυτὸν οὐράνιον* to which Clement of Alexandria and Nemesius refer is almost certainly Plato's, although the further subtlety of inversion makes no appearance.[8] Nor, I think, can one doubt the provenance of a plant interpolated into Genesis by Basil the Great. In the *Homilia in Hexaemeron*, he combines the Platonic image with a theme from the *Cratylus* upon which Christianity spun countless variations of its own:

Man, the heavenly plant, excels as much in the shape of his body as he does in the worthiness of his soul. Of what sort is the shape of quadrupeds? Their head droops to earth, looks to the belly, and the belly's pleasure is in every way pursued. Your head is raised to heaven; your eyes look to those things above.[9]

Twelve centuries or so later, Nathanael Culverwel's discourse *Of the Light of Nature* (1652) provided the last Platonic tree which I shall quote:

All the fresh springs of common and fountain notions are in the soul of man, for the watering of his essence, for the refreshing of this heavenly plant, this *arbor inversa*, this enclosed being, this garden of God.[10]

XXXII, 38–41 (amplified by XXXIII, 65–66).

6 *In Platonis Rem Publicam commentarii*, ed. Kroll (Leipzig, 1901), II, 334.

7 *Hermetica*, ed. and tr. Walter Scott (Oxford, 1924), I, 297.

8 Clement, *Protrepticos*, X (*PG*, VIII. 216); Nemesius, *De natura hominis*, I (*PG*, XL. 533–535).

9 *Homilia*, IX. 2 (*PG*, XXIX. 192). See note 17 for the *Cratylus*. Man's erect posture is, of course, a far more popular subject for discussion than the inverted tree. Almost every commentary which I have examined in search of trees introduces the topic in connection with 'Let us make man in our image'. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, I. 84–86 is frequently cited as the source. Numerous examples are noted by C. A. Patrides, 'Renaissance Ideas on Man's Upright Form', *JHI* XIX (1958), 256–258.

10 *Op. cit.*, ed. John Brown (Edinburgh, 1857), p. 81. Fifty years later still, Matthew Henry, commenting on Gen. ii. 4–7, referred to the soul as 'that plant of renown' (*Com-*

Plato and his readers saw man as an inverted tree because of his spiritual origin, purpose, and end. Aristotle too made use of the inverted plant, but his characteristic rationalism produced a purely naturalistic reason. Of the many passages which might be cited, this one will serve best:

> Proceeding a little further in this way, they [creatures] actually have their principal parts down below, and finally the part which answers to a head comes to have neither motion nor sensation; at this stage the creature becomes a plant, and has its upper parts below and its nether parts aloft; for in plants the roots have the character and value of mouth and head.[11]

Aristotle's plant, perhaps because more obvious, gained wider acceptance than Plato's. The early Greek commentators—Simplicius, Themistius, and the rest—repeat their master's observation.[12] One of them, Philoponus, rises above mediocrity to add an interesting detail. He too remarks that the roots are the mouth and head of the plant, but he observes also that since 'up' is the direction of heaven rather than of earth, the final statement must be paradoxical: 'up' is 'down', and 'down' is 'up'.[13] By the time of Averroes and of Aquinas, the paradox had apparently lost none of its force; they betray no uneasiness in saying that 'the top of a plant is its root'.[14]

More interesting than Aristotelian commentaries are the works in which Aristotle's plant unpredictably appears. The example of Bacon we can understand: on this matter, if on no other, he would have been an Aristotelian.[15] But two notable Platonists widely separated in time—

---

mentary on the Whole Bible [Scottdale, Pa., n.d.]). Two other examples are Juan Horozco y Covarruvias, *Emblemas morales* (Segovia, 1591), f. 29^{v} and Ulysses Aldrovandus, *Dendrologiae . . . libri duo* (Bologna, 1668), p. 107. A doubtful example may be William Alabaster's *Sonnets*, ed. Story and Gardner (Oxford, 1959), p. 7.

[11] *De partibus animalibus*, IV. 10 (686B). See also *De incessu animalium*, 705B, *De anima*, 416A, *Parva naturalia*, 467B and 468A. All of these are considered by W. K. Kraak, 'Aristote est-il toujours resté fidèle à sa conception que la plante se tient la tête en bas?' *Mnemosyne*, ser. 3, X (1942), 251–262.

[12] Simplicius in *Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca*, XI (Berlin, 1882), p. 112; Themistius, *ibid.*, V, pars III (1899), p. 51; Sophonias, *ibid.*, XXIII, pars I (1883), p. 59; Michael of Ephesus, *ibid.*, XXII, pars II (1904), p. 141.

[13] *Ibid.*, XV (1897), p. 276.

[14] The quoted phrase is from Aquinas, *In libros Aristotelis De caelo et mundo expositio*, II, ii, ed. Spiazzi (Turin, 1952), p. 151. See also Aquinas, *In Aristotelis librum De anima commentarium*, II, viii, ed. Pirotta (Turin, 1936), p. 115, and Averroes, *Commentarium magnum in Aristotelis De anima libros*, ed. Crawford (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 109.

[15] *Sylva Sylvarum*, VI, 607 (*Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, Heath, London, 1870, II, 530).

Boethius and Leone Ebreo—forsake the heavenly plant for the naturalistic variety.[16] Two *distinctiones*—one anonymous, the other by Alain de Lille—support the inverted tree with an etymology sounder in its symbolism than in its linguistics:

> Arbor significat hominem et recte: nam homo, graeco vocabulo ἄνθρωπος dicitur, quod interpretatur arbor versa. Homo namque os habet sursum; arbor, deorsum.[17]

Gregorius Reisch (in his sixteenth-century encyclopedia), Du Bartas (in his poem on the creation), and Lapide (commenting not on Genesis this time, but on Judges and on Jude)—all prove good Aristotelians when they come to trees.[18] Paracelsus had said that a tree 'is like a man. It has its skin, which is the bark. It has its head and hair, which are the root.'[19] This was, perhaps, the stimulus for the most curious example of them all; I take it from that copious compendium for seventeenth-century alchemy, *The Hermetic Museum*:

> Man hath within him the virtue and efficiency of all things, whence he is called a small world, and is compared to the large world . . . his hair resembles the growing herbs—and so with all other parts of his body. . . . The hairs have their head in the earth (*i.e.*, the flesh) and their roots in the air, as the Sages say, that the root of their minerals is in the air, and their head in the earth. That which ascends by distillation is volatile, and is in the air; that which remains at the bottom, and is fixed, is the head, which is in the earth. Therefore, the one must always exist in conjunction with the other if it is to be effectual. Hence man may be compared to an inverted tree: for he has his roots, or his hair, in the air, while other trees have their hairs, or their roots, in the earth.[20]

[16] Boethius, *De consolatio*, III, prose xi; Leone Ebreo, *Dialoghi d'amore*, ed. Caramella (Bari, 1929), p. 87.

[17] The quoted passage is from the *Distinctiones monastice*, cited by J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium solesmense* (Paris, 1852), II, 354; for Alain, see *PL*, CCX, 707. I am unable to suggest a justification or source for this etymology. The standard linguistic treatment depended on Plato, *Cratylus* 399C, to derive ἄνθρωπος from ἄνα, τρέπω, and ὄψ'. See, e.g., Lactantius, *Institutes*, II, i, or Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, XI, i, 5. Still more common practice, of course, was to derive *homo* from *humus*, or Adam from the Hebrew 'red earth'.

[18] Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (Freiburg, 1503), sig. E6[r]; Sylvester's *Bartas His Divine Weekes and Workes* (London, 1608), p. 167; Lapide, *Commentaria in Josue* . . . (Antwerp, 1681), s.v. Judges ix. 8, and *Commentaria in epistolas canonicas* (Antwerp, 1681), s.v. Jude 12.

[19] *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings*, tr. A. E. Waite (London, 1894), I, 229.

[20] *The Glory of the World*, in *The Hermetic Museum Restored and Enlarged*, tr. A. E. Waite (London, 1893), I, 217–218 (the original Latin is in the *Musaeum hermeticum*, Frankfurt, 1677, pp. 270–271). See also Mignault's commentary on Alciati's emblem 212 (*Andreae Alciati Emblemata cum commentariis* . . . , Padua, 1676, p. 888), and R. P. Iacobus Mesenius, *Speculum imaginum veritatis occultae* (Cologne, 1664), pp. 781–782.

The Platonic and Aristotelian trees are inverted for different reasons. That they were not necessarily or unalterably opposed to one another can be verified from the synoptic view taken by two writers who otherwise have little in common. The first was Philo:

> Further while He [God] fashioned the plants head downwards, fixing their heads in the portion of the earth where the soil lay deepest, He raised from the earth the heads of the animals that are without reason and set them on the top of a long neck, placing the fore feet as a support for the neck. But the build allotted to man was distinguished above that of other living creatures. For by turning the eyes of the others downwards, He made them incline to the earth beneath them. The eyes of the man, on the contrary, He set high up, that he might gaze on heaven, for man, as the old saying is, is a plant not earthly but heavenly.[21]

The second was J. C. Scaliger: 'Quoniam vero ex antiquorum sententia peruulgatum est, Hominem esse inuersam plantam . . . Nam quod os illae subtus, nos superne habeamus . . . Nam sicuti plantae os a terra: sic nobis oris situs a Caelo. Vt quemadmodum illae inde, sic nos illinc nostrarum actionum principia hauriamus.'[22] These trees could be united because both Aristotle and Plato had agreed that man's proper position is the inverted one; he is and should be an *arbor inversa*. The possibility of an alternative view is obvious. Those who translated the possibility into fact thereby created the third and last of the inverted trees.

I turn to *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* for an example instructive of one way in which the translation was achieved. Twice within that work, Glanvil orates upon the lamentable condition of fallen man. Sinners all, we find to our sorrow that 'the lower Powers are gotten uppermost', that '*Will*, or *Passion* hath the casting voyce'. Remembering a section of the *Timaeus*,[23] Glanvil goes on to remark that 'we *see* like men on our *heads*, as *Plato* observ'd of old, that on the *right* hand, which indeed is on the left'.[24] 'If', therefore, 'Man be an *inversed Plant*; these are *inversed Men*, who forgetting that *Sursum*, which Nature writ in their Foreheads, take their Roots in this sordid Element [of earth].'[25] Thus man

[21] *De plantatione*, IV.

[22] *De subtilitate*, CXL, 2 (Frankfurt, 1576), I, 474.

[23] 'It was as when a man stands on his head, resting it on the earth, and holds his feet aloft by thrusting them against something: in such a case right and left both of the man and of the spectators appear reversed to the other party' (*Timaeus* 43E).

[24] Reproduced from the 1661 edition by the Facsimile Text Society (N. Y., 1931), p. 118.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

can sometimes be a topsy-turvy creature, his head and his feet reversed. Something of this sort probably lies behind Seneca's complaint to an Epicurean friend: in assigning the *summum bonum* to new-born babes, he says, 'you are putting the tree-top where the root ought to be'.[26] Probable too is the relevance here of Ficino: 'When reason gives way to the senses, it is as if one fixed his head in the ground and raised his feet aloft.'[27] Rabelais tells a tale of Antiphysis, 'who ever was the counterpart of Nature'. She brought forth children, and they were, of course, quite odd: 'they walked on their heads, continually turning round like a ball, topsy-turvy, heels over head.' Yet,

> Antiphysis extolled her offspring, and strove to prove that their shape was handsomer and neater than that of the children of Physis; saying that . . . to have our feet uppermost and the head below them, was to imitate the Creator of the universe, the hair being like roots and the legs like the branches of man, for trees are better planted by their roots than they could be by their branches. By this demonstration she implied that her children were much more to be praised for being like a standing tree, than those of Physis, that made the figure of a tree upside down.[28]

'Then what is man', enquires Gascoigne, 'but a tree turned topsie turvey?'[29] The wittiest—and saddest—of trees is Swift's; it grows within the mock solemnity of his 'Meditation upon a Broom-stick', written in the manner of Boyle:

> This single Stick, which you now behold ingloriously lying in that neglected Corner, I once knew in a flourishing State in a Forest: It was full of Sap, full of Leaves, and full of Boughs: But now, in vain does the busy Art of Man pretend to vye with Nature, by tying that withered Bundle of Twigs to its sapless Trunk: It is now at best but the Reverse of what it was; a Tree turned upside down, the Branches on the Earth, and the Root in the Air . . .
>
> BUT a *Broom-stick*, perhaps you will say, is an Emblem of a Tree standing on its Head; and pray what is Man but a topsy-turvy Creature? His Animal Faculties perpetually mounted on his Rational; his Head where his Heels should be, groveling on the Earth. And yet, with all his Faults, he sets up to be a universal Reformer and Corrector of Abuses; a Remover of Grievances; rakes into every Slut's Corner of Nature, bringing hidden Corruptions to the Light, and raiseth a mighty Dust where there was

[26] *Epistulae morales*, CXXIV.

[27] *Compendium in Timaeum*, XXXVIII, in *Divini Platoni Opera omnia* (Frankfurt, 1602), p. 1036.

[28] *Gargantua*, IV, 32 (*Works*, tr. Nock and Wilson, N. Y., 1931, pp. 693–694).

[29] *The View of Worldly Vanities* (*Works*, ed. Cunliffe, II, Cambridge, 1910, p. 221).

none before; sharing deeply all the while in the very same Pollutions he pretends to sweep away.[30]

Beyond this point it was not possible for topsy-turviness to go.

The trees available to Marvell were therefore three: the Platonic, the Aristotelian, and the topsy-turvy. To which one of these did he refer? The lines themselves will never say, but from other evidence we may suspect that Plato and Aristotle are the better guides through Marvell's wood. Within the context of turbulent floods, that wood undergoes a sea-change to become a 'green, yet growing Ark' (LXI), and when the threat of watery death is passed, it remains a refuge wherein one reads at leisure from '*Natures mystick Book*' (LXXIII). These clues are perhaps sufficient for us to know that the wood is ever a sacred grove, a point of order when all else is gone awry, a reminder of man's proper form in the midst of topsy-turviness. Dispelling the last cloud of unbelief is a final hint to be gathered from Timaeus; in an appendage to his discourse, we are told whence came the creatures less than man:

Birds were made by transformation: growing feathers instead of hair, they came from harmless but light-witted men, who studied the heavens but imagined in their simplicity that the surest evidence in these matters comes through the eye.[31]

Foolish simplicity is a path that Marvell did not walk, for in retreating to the wood, he withdrew also into the speculative realm of mind, retiring both from the world without and from the unreliable sense impressions which that world thrusts upon us (LXXVI).

> How safe, methinks, and strong, behind
> These Trees have I encamp'd my Mind;
> Where Beauty, aiming at the Heart,
> Bends in some Tree its useless Dart;
> And where the World no certain Shot
> Can make, or me it toucheth not.

To Marvell and to Timaeus, within ourselves are discovered the most certain of proofs. Only if the case were otherwise might the transformations suggested in that earlier passage be fulfilled.

> Give me but Wings as they, and I
> Streight floting on the Air shall fly—

[30] *The Prose Works*, ed. Davis, I (Oxford, 1939), pp. 239–240.
[31] *Timaeus*, 91E.

but I shall have become an empty-headed man, or rather no man at all. 'Turn me', and from a tree's point of view my roots will be correctly placed. But if neither of those actions be performed, then Marvell is man, not bird; no standing tree, but rather what John Evelyn called its 'inverted symbol';[32] not Swift's broomstick, but Aristotle's tree, Plato's heavenly plant.

University of California, Davis A. B. CHAMBERS

[32] *Sylva*, bk. IV (York and London, 1812), II, 362: 'That our tree, like man (whose inverted symbol he is,) being sown in corruption, rises in glory.' While this article was in press, two other noteworthy examples turned up. The first, a conflation of Platonic and Aristotelian trees, is given by pseudo-Hugh of St. Victor, *De bestiis*, III. 58 (*PL*, CLXXVII. 119). The second, a topsy-turvy tree, is given by Innocent III, *De miseria humane conditionis*, I.viii, ed. Maccarone (Lucani, c. 1955), p. 15.

STUDIES IN THE RENAISSANCE

VOLUME VIII

PUBLICATIONS OF
THE RENAISSANCE SOCIETY OF AMERICA
1161 Amsterdam Avenue, New York 27, New York

THE RENAISSANCE SOCIETY OF AMERICA

OFFICERS FOR 1961

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Curt F. Bühler (Morgan Library), President
Josephine Waters Bennett (Hunter), Executive Director
Edwin B. Knowles (Pratt), Treasurer
W. G. Constable (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, ret.), Chm., International Coöperation
Felix Gilbert (Bryn Mawr), Medici Project
Phyllis G. Gordan (New York City), Chairman, Finance
Paul Oskar Kristeller (Columbia), Delegate of the A.C.L.S.
Rensselaer W. Lee (Princeton), Chairman, Special Problems
John H. Randall, Jr. (Columbia), Chairman, New Projects and Activities
Gustave Reese (New York Univ.), Chairman, Constitution and Bylaws
Helen E. Sandison (Vassar, emerita), Chairman, Membership and Regional Conferences
M. A. Shaaber (Pennsylvania), Editor of *Studies in the Renaissance*

COUNCIL

REPRESENTATIVES OF REGIONAL CONFERENCES

Central: Klaus Berger (Kansas), James G. Rice (Stephens)
Columbia University Seminar: Charles Trinkaus (Sarah Lawrence)
Folger Library Seminar: Louis B. Wright
Middle Atlantic: Caroline Robbins (Bryn Mawr), Ralph M. Sargent (Haverford)
Newberry: Earl E. Rosenthal (Chicago)
New England: William F. Church (Brown), Ray Nash (Dartmouth)
New York: Gustave Reese (New York Univ.)
North-Central: Wallace K. Ferguson (Western Ontario)
Northern California: Lawrence V. Ryan (Stanford), Linda Van Norden (California at Davis)
Pacific Northwest: W. Leonard Grant (British Columbia), Paul Pascal (Washington)
South-Central: William S. Burgett (Oklahoma)
Southeastern: S. K. Heninger, Jr. (Duke), Margherita Morreale (Catholic)
Southern California: Bates Lowry (Pomona), James E. Phillips (U.C.L.A.)

REPRESENTATIVES OF DISCIPLINES 1961–1963

Bibliography, Printing, etc.: Philip Hofer (Houghton Library, Harvard)
English Literature: D. C. Allen (Johns Hopkins), Rosemond Tuve (Connecticut College), Helen C. White (Wisconsin)
French Literature: W. L. Wiley (North Carolina)
Germanic Literature: Archer Taylor (California, Berkeley)
Hispanic Literature: Otis H. Green (Pennsylvania)
History: Wallace K. Ferguson (Western Ontario), Myron P. Gilmore (Harvard), E. Harris Harbison (Princeton)
History of Medicine: Thomas Fleming (Columbia)
History of Science: Giorgio de Santillana (M.I.T.)
Italian Literature: Charles S. Singleton (Johns Hopkins)
Latin and Classical Scholarship: James Hutton (Cornell), Dean P. Lockwood (Haverford)
Music: Isabel Pope Conant (Chevy Chase, Md.)
Philosophy: Jason L. Saunders (North Carolina)
Slavic Literature: S. Harrison Thomson (Colorado)
Theology and Church History: Wilhelm Pauck (Union Theological)
Visual Arts: Ruth W. Kennedy (Smith), Dorothy Miner (Walters Art Gallery), Wolfgang Stechow (Oberlin)

Studies in the Renaissance
v.8
1961

v.8
1961

56062

GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL UNION LIBRARY
BERKELEY, CA 94709

GTU Library
3 2400 00306 1078